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ABSTRACT

This guide is a study of the many cultures that went into the making of Texas, from Indians who inhabited the land before the arrival of Europeans to the different European nationalities that explored and settled Texas. This work can be used by students as a text in secondary level social studies programs, or by a teacher as a reference or resource material to supplement other texts. Also, it could be used in bilingual classrooms to present the historical contributions of Spanish-speaking peoples in Texas, or as a conventional Texas history text. Probing into the conflict that arose from the clashes of the different cultures as they mingled in Texas, the book explores the causes for these conflicts, showing them to be multifaceted. The history of Texas is traced from colonization, through independence, to statehood, up to the 1970s, culminating with the emergence of an ethnic and cultural consciousness in the Mexican Americans. (Author/ND)

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THE TEXAN: MAN OF MANY FACES

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FOREWORD

When listing the needs for materials in bilingual programs, educators often rank historical or ethnic studies among those areas that demand the greatest attention. The Dissemination Center for Bilingual Bicultural Education, therefore, is endeavoring to publish and disseminate instructional materials that will promote greater knowledge and understanding of each ethnic group -- particularly those represented in programs conducted under Title VII ESEA.

It is hoped that by learning about themselves the individuals of one cultural group will develop a greater awareness of themselves -- their origins and their socio-cultural development. Those outside the group will also profit by learning about other people, other ways of life; for this knowledge, in addition to enriching their experiences, will also make for a better perception of their own culture. With these goals in mind, the Dissemination Center for Bilingual Bicultural Education has published The Texan: Man of Many Faces. As the title implies, this work is a study of the many cultures that went into the making of Texas -- from the Indians who inhabited the land, prior to the arrival of the Europeans, to the different European nationalities that explored and settled it. The Texan: Man of Many Faces probes into the conflicts that arose from the clashes of the different cultures, as they mingled in Texas, and explores the causes for these conflicts, showing them to be multifaceted, never a case of one side being completely right or completely wrong.

The history of Texas is traced from colonization, through independence, to statehood, up to the 1970's, culminating with one of the most important social developments of our times in this country -- the emergence of an ethnic and cultural consciousness in the Mexican American. With this consciousness came the impetus to cultivate and take pride in the language and the culture of the Mexican Americans.

The Texan: Man of Many Faces may be used by students as a text in junior and senior level social studies programs, or by the teacher as a reference or resource material, from which to draw and supplement other texts. It may be used in bilingual classrooms to present the historical contributions of Spanish-speaking peoples in Texas and also as a more conventional Texas history. In every case, it should provide a well-balanced view of the cultures and the peoples that gave form to Texas.

Juan D. Solís

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CHAPTER I

TEXAS: LAND WITHOUT MAN

In the beginning, before man, was the land: a giant region 265,000 square miles in area which rose out of the Gulf of Mexico. It ran across prairies forests, and swamps, 770 miles from East to West, and from North to South. Texas was a New Land, starting in the West at the sea and stretching across three major parts of North America, the Atlantic-Gulf coastal plain, the Great Plains, and the Rocky Mountains. Texas, then, as today, was a rough land, a land of sudden changes.

At first there were no human beings in Texas. All men came as invaders. We don't know when the first man came but we do know it was during the last great Ice Age, tens of thousands of years ago. At that time a land-bridge connected Asia and Alaska and the first Americans most certainly crossed this bridge. They went to the Atlantic and Pacific but discovered their true home on the high plateau of Texas.[1]

These men had long heads and big teeth, and their leg bones were flat and curved. They were nothing like the American Indians we know today, still they were well-developed human beings. They walked erect, were intelligent, used weapons and symbols, had fire, and wore fur robes. We call these original Texans Paleo-Americans, or Old Americans.

At the same time magnificent animals lived on the high plateaus. The Paleo-Americans pursued and hunted the Elephas Columbis, or Columbian elephant, the mammoth, the mastodon, the ground sloth, and the ancient bison, a beast twice the size and four times the weight of the modern buffalo. Life was dangerous and hard. Men probably never lived beyond age eighteen or twenty.[a]

The Paleo-Americans left neither history nor trace of their culture, with one exception. These were the great stone heads found in the bed of the oldest trace of the Trinity river. The heads are carved from rock. One weighs 135 pounds, one 60, and the third, 100 pounds. The first two heads represent a smiling and a laughing human but the third, and largest, is weird and distorted. It probably represents an unknown god or beast.

However, the Ice Age ended. and the animals died. The Old Americans vanished with them. Whether they too died, or changed drastically through the years we don't know, but new invaders had already come to take their place.

The American Indian

The new invaders also came across the nothern land bridge in search of food and game. They were very different, though, from the Old Americans that had preceded them. They were definitely Asian in skinshade, hair form and color. These were the ancestors of today's American Indian and they called themselves the People, or the Real Humans.[3] Europeans later called them American Indians.

While the Old Americans came in one small invasion, these New Americans or Indians came in many invasions over thousands of years. Unlike the Old Americans, the Indians did not keep a single culture but split into many bands and developed different languages and different methods of living.

Because they varied culturally, spoke different languages, and often desired the same land, these bands followed the oldest human logic: they made war. In fact, their wars were so frequent that the warrior became the center of society. Women lived only to serve the warrior. The warrior left all of the work to the women, spending his time hunting, fishing or fighting. All men were considered enemies and every man had to prove his courage from the day he reached manhood until the day he died. Captive men were tortured unmercifully to test their courage, and among all tribes the scalp taken from the body of an enemy was the trophy of conquest. The warrior either wore it or displayed it proudly.

These men roamed and hunted a fertile and changing land. But the Indian was on foot armed with only knives, stones, and spears. Until the time of Christ he did not have the bow and arrow. Though buffalo were plentiful and smaller than their Ice Age ancestors, they were still dangerous beasts to attack on foot, at arm's length. Capturing deer and bear on foot was also a difficult task. In short, there was little meat, and the Indians had to turn to other foods. Thus, in modern times all Texas tribes except one, the late-coming Comanches, practiced cannibalism by necessity. Anthropologists call this age the Archaic Age.

The invention of the bow made life a little easier but the great change, which ended the Archaic Age and began the Neo-American Age, was the Agricultural Revolution.

The Agricultural Revolution

Several thousand years before Christ the South American Indians discovered how to grow maize or Indian corn. With this tiny seed sprouted the first great American civilizations. True city-based cultures began to rise in South and Central America and moved upward into Mexico. These were large, advanced societies comparable in time and development to the Egyptian Empire. Though later destroyed by invading Spaniards, their contribution to the world was enormous. Three-fifths of the crops planted in the 20th century were first planted by these Indians.[4] They developed maize, "Irish" potatoes, yams, tobacco, beans, squash, pumpkins, peanuts, tomatoes, chocolate, rubber, and cotton. They also tamed the llama, alpaca, turkey, duck, pig and dog.

The Caddoan Confederacies

However, this cultural revolution bypassed Texas creeping instead up the Rio Grande into New Mexico with the Puebloan Indian culture. Not until around the year 500 of the Christian Era did the agricultural revolution enter our state, when a vital, new Indian culture began on the Gulf of Mexico, crossed the Sabine and spread to the edge of the Piney Woods.[5] This civilization, called the Mound Builders, probably entered Texas by water coming up from South America across the Gulf of

Mexico. They built dirt pyramids fifty feet high and crowned them with temples to the sun god, wore robes of feathers, and developed a complicated society revolving around a hierarchical class system. These and other characteristics of this race suggest influences of the Mexican tribes to the South. Then the Mound Builders mysteriously disappeared, leaving to Texas only the remnants of their pyramids and a barbaric group of Indians called the Caddo Confederacy of the Piney Woods.[6] These were once the most numerous and most powerful Indians in Texas.

The Caddoan culture was the most advanced among the Texas Indians and also unlike that of any other Texas tribe.

The Caddoans kept the Mound Builder's advanced class structure directed by the great chief of all tribes, the Grand Caddi, and the high priest, Xinesi. They hunted game, and grew corn and vegetables. They lived in villages of wooden houses furnished with rugs, baskets, and pottery.

The Caddoans made fine bows greatly desired by Indians living to the West, and thus, carried on a busy trade with the tribes of the West. The warrior was no longer the central member of society. The priest, village official or husband had become the ideal. Although the Caddoans still tortured and ate their captives, the act had become a religious rite instead of a means of obtaining food.

The Caddoans cried easily and wept and wailed whenever meeting or parting. Enemies were often warned of an approaching massacre by the sobs of attacking Caddoans. Courage was not important and a warrior who gained loot and then fled from the battle was still a hero.

Because they were agricultural and war was no longer central in their culture, the Caddos were later friendly to the white man. The white man then was able to know them well, and, thus, destroy them most easily among the tribes of Texas.

Between the Puebloan civilization in what is today New Mexico and the Caddoan confederacies the vast area of Texas remained what anthropologists call a "cultural sink." The numberous tribes living in this area culturally never left the Archaic Age. In physical appearance all Texas Indians were quite similar but their customs, habits, and economies were as different as those of the U.S. and China.

Karankawa Indians

South of the Caddo Confederacies, along the Gulf Coast, from Galveston to Corpus Christi bays lived the Karankawa tribes, a group of Indians well-known as cannibals. They avoided all contact with Europeans and attacked any invasion with fury. In return, they were hated and destroyed with relish.

Coahuiltecans

West of Karankawa country, on a line through San Antonio to Del Rio and south to the Rio Grande, was the territory of a great number of small bands of Coahuiltecans.[7] This was cactus and brush country, a semidesert uninhabited by game animals and too dry to support crops. Thus, the Coahuilticans were grubbers and diggers, cleverly making use of all resources of their desolate country. They ate spiders, ant eggs, lizards, rattlesnakes, worms, insects, rotting wood, and deer dung. They caught and roasted fish and then allowed the fish to collect flies and maggots for days before enjoying their enriched flavor. They roasted mesquite beans and ate them with dirt. Another favorite food was the Second Harvest: whole seeds and similar bits picked out of human feces and cooked. The Coahuiltecans also discovered uses for plants still enjoyed by modern man. They developed mexcal from the maguey leaves, a drink still consumed by the Mexican peasantry, and real fire water from ground red Texas laurel beans.

These Coahuiltecans were all nomadic moving often and warring little. However, they frequently killed babies and girl captives because they believed that the land was overpopulated.

The Tonkawas

Above the Coahuiltecans, over the Balcones Escapment lived the Tonkawa tribes.[8] They called themselves Tickanwatick, or "the most human of men," and roamed the land stretching from the Edwards Plateau to the Brazos valley. The Tonkawas had lived on the central plateau since the disappearance of the Old Americans and supported themselves by hunting, fishing, and gathering fruits, nuts, and berries. The Tonkawas were typical of the early Indians we imagine today. They lived on the edge of buffalo country, in buffalo-hide tepees, and used large dogs as beasts of burden. They tatooed their bodies, wore breechclouts and moccasins in the summer and buckskin shirts in the winter, and hunted with the bow and arrow. The Tonkawa, however, did not hunt very high on the Texas plains. Another, fiercer tribe reigned over the rich buffalo grounds.

Apache

At some recent but unknown date a new race appeared from the North savagely scattering all other cultures in their path.

They spoke Athapaskan, a language whose home was Alaska, and wandered for many years South across the great plains becoming unusually fierce and skilled at fighting. They considered all other Indians their enemies.[9] These were the Apaches, a name which literally means enemy.

The Texas Apache roamed as far north as Nebraska and as far south as Mexico forcing all other tribes in their way to flee or be slaughtered. They made themselves the unquestioned masters of the High Plains. Here were millions upon millions of buffalo as well as elk, deer and antelope, and, here, in Texas, began the first famous buffalo-hunting cultures of the West.

The Apache based his life upon the buffalo. Great hunts took place in spring and fall when small herds were surrounded by men on foot and shot with bows and arrows. Sometimes herds were stampeded into canyons where the trapped or injured animals were killed.

Then the women took charge, skinning and roasting the buffalo. The intestines were cooked whole, as a special treat and the liver eaten raw. Some meat was dried for the winter, and the guts were cleaned out to be used as water bags. Buffalo bones made picks and tools, and the hides made clothing, blankets and teepees. These teepees housed four to twelve people and were actually drier and warmer than log cabins. Fires were built in their centers and hide blankets made soft carpets.

However, the buffalo followed the rain and grass and in the hottest months moved north too far and too fast for the horseless Apache to follow. Thus, the Apache bands settled for long periods by the rivers and planted beans, maize, squash, and pumpkins. The Spanish called these temporary camps "rancherías."

Although the Apaches were masters of the plains, they were unable to exist either as full-time hunters or full-time farmers and, thus, remained primitive nomads living much like their ancestors. Again the warrior was the center of society and women lived to serve men. Young boys became warriors by proving their bravery and warriors, chiefs by repeatedly gaining the respect of other warriors in battle. Unlike either the Caddoans to the East or the South American Indians, the Apaches never developed an advanced social system. They lived in small family clans worshipping many folkloric gods, and believing themselves children of the sun, sprung from the Mother Earth.

NOTES

[1] T. R. Fehrenbach, Lone Star (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

CHAPTER II

CORONADO AND THE COMANCHES

The Conquistador

In the summer of 1540 a new and powerful invader burst into Tejas. This time he came not from the North but from the South. Instead of buckskin he wore golden armor and instead of a spear he carried the Cross and the red and gold banners of Spain. Behind him followed three hundred Spaniards in shining steel, accompanied by conquered Mexican Indians, and pious priests pursuing converts. This was the fateful expedition of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, the last and largest entrada of the Spanish conquistadores.

Coronado was one of an unusual group of men in Spanish history; he was a conquistador. The Conquistadores came to conquer rather than colonize the New World. They represented the Spanish King and came in search of gold for themselves and their country rather than in search of settlement. They were courageous men, crazy for fame and fortune. They believed that the Spanish were superior among men and that Christianity was the best of all religions, and promised to impose both the Spanish culture and Catholic religion on all captives.

The Conquistadores were capable and prepared to fulfill this promise. They were the finest fighters in the 16th century world. The Old and New World shuddered when the Spaniards shouted "Santiago," calling upon the patron saint of Spain as they rode into battle. To the world the phase "fought like Spaniards" meant "fought like devils" and was the fighting man's supreme compliment.

Cabeza de Vaca Excites Interest in Texas

Two events caused the Coronado expedition of 1540. First, Spain had already conquered Mexico which she called New Spain, and adventurers were looking northward, eager to find new kingdoms in America. After all, if Mexico and Peru were so wealthy, why shouldn't Tejas hold more treasures? Second, Spain demanded more and more gold to support her ever expanding empire, and Mendoza, the Viceroy of Mexico, believed he could find the golden cities for his king. Thus, when Cabeza de Vaca returned from six years of wanderings among the Texas Indians with exciting stories of cities of gold, Mendoza was ready to listen. Cabeza de Vaca related stories the Indians told him of seven cities in which gold was so abundant that even the streets were paved with it and jewels decorated the houses.

The Mexican governor, Mendoza, wanted to find out more about these "Seven Cities of Gold" that Cabeza de Vaca described. He, however, was not entirely convinced that Cabeza de Vaca was telling the truth. To test out his story, he decided to send out some scouts.

Spanish Scouts Search for Cities

The man elected to head the scouting party was Fray Marcos de Niza. "Fray" was a name given to a kind of Catholic brother. Fray Marcos had already explored for many years in Peru and Guatemala. He had experience in making friends with the Indians and communicating with them. His job would be to explore this land that Cabeza de Vaca had talked about, make friends with the Indians, and thus provide a way for a larger group to come later. He would also look for this land where the cities made out of gold and silver were supposed to be located.

Fray Marcos chose as his chief scout an African slave named Esteban. Esteban, who traveled with De Vaca had acquired six Indian dialects, had learned the arts of the medicine man, had gained a familiarity with the land and the Indians. Esteban was to prove to be very valuable to the Spaniards. Because of his black skin, the Indians treated him as a supernatural being, and considered him a god. His dress added to their fascination for him. He was decorated with turquoise, feathers and a gourd with tinkling bells, accompanied by a large gray hunting dog, and surrounded by a large group of enchanted Indian women, who joined him at every village he visited.

Fray Marcos started out with his group around 1539. Esteban, as head scout, went on ahead. If he heard good news, Esteban was to send back a cross. If the news was very good, the cross was to be as big as two hands. When Fray did receive a cross, it was neither size. It was a big as a man! After this encouragement, Fray Marcos tried to catch up with Esteban but did not succeed. He found crosses in the villages, but not Esteban.

It is said that Esteban did sight the town of Cíbola that they were looking for. It was the first of the fabled seven cities of gold. However, before he could return to his party with the good news, he was killed by the Indians. It is believed that he was killed because the Indians did not appreciate losing their beautiful women to this man. Such was the end of the man who was the first European to find the Seven Cities of Gold.

In the meantime, Fray Marcos continued his explorations. He traveled through the valley of the San Pedro in Arizona, to the Zuñi villages of western New Mexico, and finally to Cíbola. Here Fray Marcos heard the news of Esteban's death, and decided against entering the city. Seeing the city from a far-off distance, gave it the impression of being even bigger than Mexico City and having a golden color. Nevertheless, he could do nothing but return to Mexico and report the news to Viceroy Mendoza.

Once again Viceroy Antonio Mendoza listened with great interest to the story of the Seven Cities of Gold. This time he was determined to send out a larger expedition and find the land of riches. He was hoping to find perhaps another area as rich as that of Mexico.

Coronado's Expedition

The job was entrusted to Francisco Coronado. Gathering a large party of men and many supplies, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado made ready to go into the unknown land. He and his men set out north on February 23, 1540, with Fray Marcos as their guide. They went northward into San Pedro Valley, around the Santa Catalina Mountains, over the Gila River, and to the Zuni River.

However, Coronado and his men were plagued with trouble. The trip went very slowly and the rough land made the traveling even more difficult. Coronado was finally forced to divide his party. He took a small group and went ahead, whereas the main army followed him farther behind. Fray Marcos was the guide for Coronado's group.

Coronado and his men were not really prepared for the trip they were to encounter. They had heard only about the cities of gold, not about the lack of water, the hot and rough land they would have to cross. Coronado had started with thousands of sheep and horses, but many animals died from hunger, thirst, or from falling on the rocky land. The men themselves were more than ready to turn back.

Just as they were about to give up hope, they sighted the town of Cíbola. They expected to see seven cities of gold, just waiting to be taken. But when they came closer to the town, they did not see houses made out of gold, but rather a pueblo of very simple mud houses belonging to the Zuñi Indians. The houses were not covered with jewels, but with pebbles; the streets were not paved with gold, but with sun-baked clay. Coronado and his men were truly very disappointed.

The Zuñi Indians, moreover, were not prepared to give up their simple mud dwellings. They ordered Coronado to leave. A big battle resulted. The Indians were not match for the Spaniards who had horses, armor, and weapons. Coronado and his men quickly defeated the Indians and took over the pueblo.

The Spaniards decided to make camp in the Zuñi region. Some of Coronado's men went off to explore the land more thoroughly. Pedro de Tovar went west, where he found the Hopi pueblos in northern Arizona. One of Tovar's men, García López de Cárdenas, went even farther west and discovered the Grand Canyon and the Colorado River. Hernando de Alvarado found the pueblos of the Rio Grande to the east.

Nevertheless, Coronado did not give up his search for the cities of gold. He was told by the Indians that the rich cities he was looking for were farther north, and that the richest city of all was named Quivira. From an Indian they called "El Turco," they learned that the cities were on the Great Plains.

Therefore, they continued with their trip, going eastward, across the Great Plains of Texas, across the Arkansas River into Kansas until they reached the first of the Quivira villages.

Along the way they saw great, open plains covered with grass that bent before the wind and looked like the waves of the sea. They saw herds of strange animals which they called "hump-backed cattle." We call them buffalo. Though the party kept traveling and traveling, they never seemed to reach the wonderful city of Quivira. All they kept finding were more and more mud villages, with no riches in them whatsoever. Finally the Indian, El Turco, admitted that there was no Quivira. There were no jeweled cities; there were only mud villages. The people who inhabited these villages were simple Indians. They had no silver dishes, no golden bowls, no jewels. Coronado, in his fury, ordered El Turco to be killed and set up a cross at his death site. There was no choice but to give up and turn back to Mexico City.

For three years Coronado had searched for the Seven Cities of Gold. For three years he had done nothing but wander through the unknown land, meet strange Indian tribes, and find mud houses. For him, his three years had been in vain, and he considered his entire trip as a complete failure.

When he began his trip he had been only thirty years old. Young and bold, he was determined to carry out his king's orders and we have every evidence that he performed well. Coronado led his army with care and treated the Indians much better than had conquistadores before him. It took courage to march four thousand miles into an unknown land where Indians told of powerful kings who led armies of giants and tortured their captives unmercifully. It took skill to return, losing few Spaniards and no more than 30 Indian allies. Few soldiers in history could match this record. In addition, because of him, Spain now had claim to what today is known as Arizona, Oklahoma and Kansas, and a hold on Tejas which wouldn't be challenged for three centuries.

Juan de Oñate

Although upon his return to Mexico or New Spain Coronado described Tejas as a beautiful and fertile land, the Crown was disappointed to have found no gold and ignored Tejas for more than fifty years. Then in 1598, when Coronado was no more than a legend among the Indians, Don Juan de Oñate organized a north-bound expedition of a different kind. While he included 400 soldiers and priests, the first to capture the Indians, the second to Christianize them, he led another far more important army. To the upper Rio Grande Valley he brought 130 Spanish families to settle the Southwest and seven thousand domestic animals, which included 300 Spanish mares and colts. The latter group proved to be the most important of all.[1] Oñate was introducing cattle and the Spanish mustang to the Great Plains.

Although the Spaniards did not, at first, allow the Indians to ride, they eventually had their faithful slaves tend their horses. Of course, these tame Indians soon learned to ride and many escaped into the mountains or plains, taking horse and horsemanship with them. Between 1600 and 1650 both passed into Apache hands and the result was a revolution on the Great Plains of North America that was to continue for 250 years.

The Spanish Again Leave the Land to the Apache.

While the Apaches were learning to ride another thing happened. The Spaniards lived between what is today El Paso and Santa Fe among the Pueblo Indians, who were old enemies of the

Apaches. Thus, the Apaches began to consider the Spaniards as their enemies also. Apaches, on horseback, raided Spanish-Indian settlements along the Rio Grande from the North, the East, and the West. They rode far into Spanish territory, struck fast, and then disappeared into the endless plains, leaving massacred villages behind and taking hundreds of horses with them. In addition, the Apaches learned to like cattle even better than buffalo. Rather than raising their own, they simply raided the ranchos to increase their supply.

Meanwhile the Pueblo Indians lived a miserable life, whipped by the Spanish priests if they did not work, but unprotected from raiding Apaches if they stayed on the ranchos and did work. In addition, they were forced to give up their ancient rites such as the rain dance, and follow the strange and mysterious Christianity. Finally, in 1680 they, too, rose in one last, desperate, bloody revolt. The Spanish fled the Rio Grande surrounded by destruction and horror, leaving their horses behind. These too, passed into Apache hands.

Although the Spanish returned, they were unable to solve the Apache problem. Strangely enough, not the Spanish, but another American Indian tribe destroyed the power of the Apaches and pushed them off of the Great Plains.

The Comanches

As thousands of mustangs were left to roam the Plains in 1680, news of the great new wealth in Tejas spread. More tribes were drawn south like a magnet. Out of the Eastern Rockies came a tribe of short, small men. Other Indians called them Komantcia, another word meaning enemy. Europeans understood the word to be Comanche.[3]

No other people in history took to the horse like the Comanche. Where before he had been a berry-picker and a foot-bound hunter, on a horse he became tall, proud and free. Suddenly, he could follow the buffalo providing endless meat for every man, woman, and child. And follow him he did, straight out of the Rockies onto the Tejas plains.

Out of the mountains the Comanches swarmed like angered hornets striking Tejas around the year 1725. Armed with lance and buffalo shield, they could fire a shower of arrows with deadly accuracy from a gallop. They rode to war by the light of the moon and loved to strike 200 to 300 miles into enemy territory, kill, burn, take prisoners and gallop back to the rolling plains. At last the Apaches had met their match. Fleeing into the hills and mountains, the Apaches left to the Comanches a vast new kingdom; all the high plains and central plateaus of Tejas.

This land had more game than any other land in North America, and the Comanches fought to keep it. Never settling in one place the Comanches continuously roamed their hunting ground. So feared were they that they could have an area for years without an Apache or Spaniard daring to approach. The Comanches boasted that they permitted the Spaniards to live on the fringes of their territory only to raise horses for them.

The Spaniards, however, were not aware of the size of the Comanche threat. They were far more worried at this time about the advance of an old, not a new enemy. That enemy was France.

NOTES

[1] T. R. Fehrenbach, Lone Star (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

CHAPTER III

FRANCE ON THE FRONTIER

The Explorations of La Salle

Years after Coronado had returned to New Spain a bitter and broken man, another explorer, this time a Frenchman, was wandering the wilds of North America. In the year 1682 Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, navigated the mighty Mississippi from the Ohio Valley to its mouth at the Gulf of Mexico. In the process he claimed for France, not only the river, but also the lands fed by the river and its tributaries. This included two-thirds of the present United States and some of Texas. He called the country Louisiana after King Louis XIV and the river, the Coulbert. The Indians, however, continued to call the waterway the Mississippi or Big River.

St. Denis Sent Claim Texas for France

France built two settlements, Mobile and New Orleans, and a series of trading posts all along the Mississippi, but stayed clear of the Spanish and Spanish possessions. The French, though, remained jealous of the fabulous Spanish empire. Hence, in 1713 the Sieur de Cadillac, Governor of Louisiana, sent a Canadian named St. Denis up the Red River to build a fort on Spanish soil. He planned to show that France still claimed Tejas.

The French manner and purpose of exploring the New World was far different from that of the Spanish. They were much more interested in trade than in land, preferred to live with the Indians than build settlements, and had no interest whatsoever in converting or "civilizing" the Indians. In fact, they made friends with the Indians easily, sold them guns and encouraged them to fight against other Europeans. Meanwhile, they went about their business of trading and trapping. Naturally, their influence over most Indian tribes was great.[1]

Thus, Louis St. Denis, like other Frenchmen before him, successfully founded a profitable Indian trading post in the Red River Valley which he named Natchitoches. St. Denis, however, was an unusual, ambitious and talented Frenchman. He dreamed of greater things, imagining the profits to be made by trading with the Spanish. A gay and charming young man, he rode boldly into Tejas and appeared at a Spanish settlement, where he managed to marry a military official's daughter. Then he talked the Spanish authorities into the settlement of East Tejas. In 1716 St. Denis, his wife, his father-in-law, and a large party of priests and soldiers marched into Tejas to found four new mission-forts, including one at Nacogdoches, across from Natchitoches on the Red River.

Now, St. Denis set up a brisk trade with the Spaniards, as well as the Indians, which was entirely illegal with the Spanish Government at the time. But because of his enormous power with the Indians he kept the Spaniards alarmed and away. He also traded the Indians a great quantity of guns and ammunition which frightened the Spanish even more. For twenty years he continued to threaten, frustrate and trade with the Spanish. His activities also resulted in setting, by gentleman's agreement, the border of Texas at the Sabine River. After a glamorous and active life he died in bed in 1744. The Viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de Fuenclara, was so delighted to be rid of the French thorn in the Spanish side that he cried out, "¡Gracias a Dios!" upon hearing of St. Denis's death.[a]

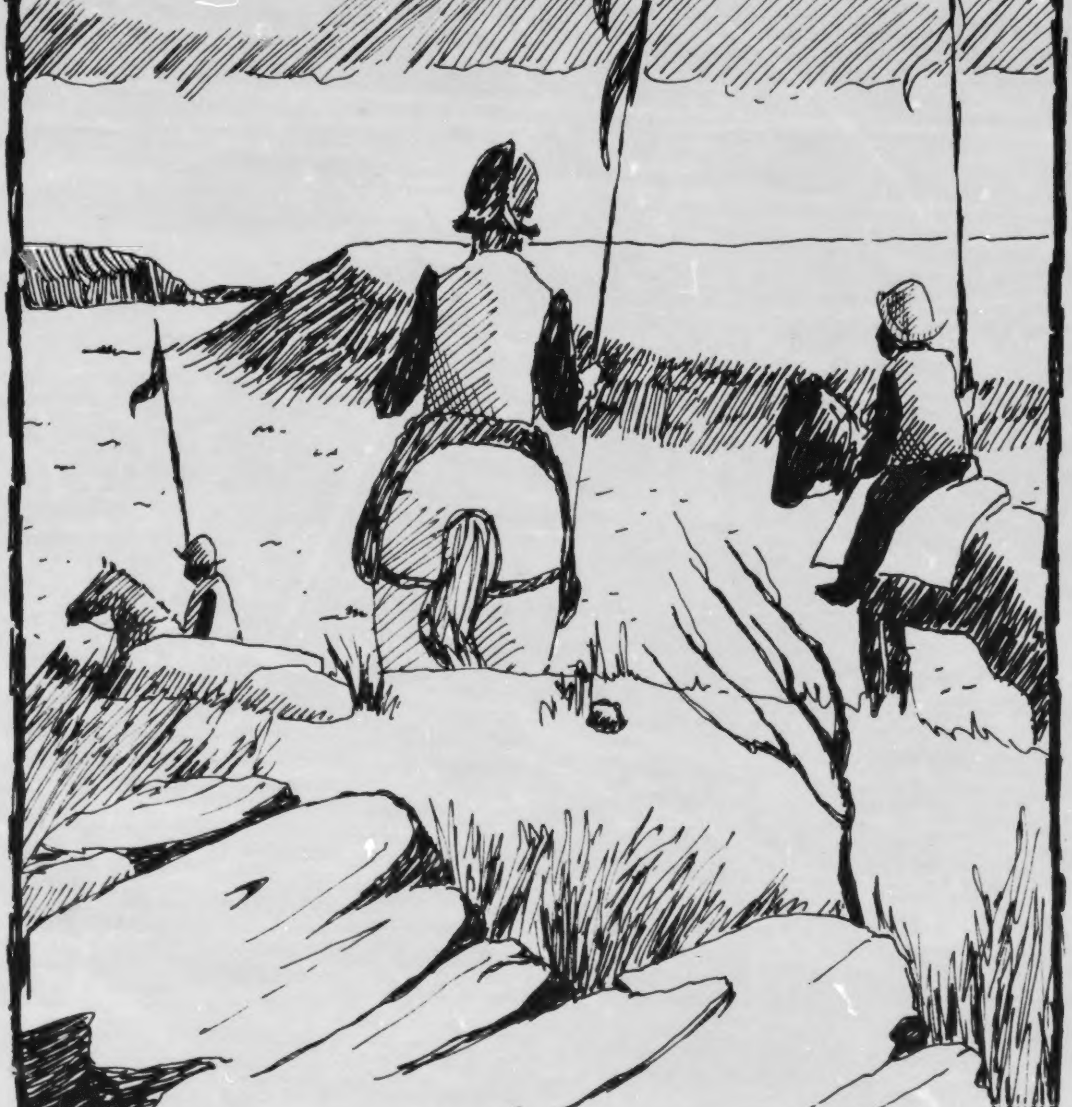
St. Denis lived on as an important figure in Texas history. He was important to the Spanish and later to us, not because of his daring trading, or even his establishment of the

Texas border. He was important because he represented French power creeping into Spanish domain and directly caused the King of Spain to found a number of Texas forts and missions and, hence, begin the first Spanish settlement of Tejas.

NOTES

[1] T.R. Fehrenbach, Lone Star (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p.32.

[2] *Ibid*., p.43.



CHAPTER IV

THE SPANISH SETTLE TEXAS

Our study will show that each of the colonizing nations in Tejas had its own special frontier class. The French had the fur traders who, in search of hides, made friends with the Indian, thus extending the French empire and increasing French trade. In the Anglo colonies the fur trader blazed the way, but it was the backwoods settler who cut down the forest, and drove back the Indian. In the Spanish colonies the men who established and held the frontiers were first the conquistador, and then the soldier and the missionary. Among those on the Spanish frontier the most effective pioneer was the missionary.

The Missionary Era

The original purpose of the mission was political. Spain built missions as centers in which to settle, convert, and finally civilize Indians. The Indians in turn were to serve the King by protecting the frontier. The missions, then, were representatives of the State as well as of the Church. They served not only to Christianize the frontier, but also to extend, and hold it. Hence, the Spanish government supported and even protected the missions. Every time Spain built a mission, she built near by a fort or presidio to protect it and manned the presidio with six or more soldiers.

But the missionaries did more than extend and hold the frontier. More important, they helped to civilize it. Spain had very high ideals but unusual problems. While she possessed most of the two Americas, her population was too small to colonize the New World. Not having Spaniards to colonize her possessions, she decided to colonize them by making the Indians Spaniards. To carry out this idea she chose the missionaries, men as courageous as the conquistadores with a spirit of brotherhood to match their courage. They became not only the preachers, but also the teachers of the Indians. In fact, the Indians received much better treatment from the Spanish than from any other colonizer.[1]

The missionaries always began by bringing to a new mission three Indian families from the older mission as examples, and teachers. Then they turned to the task of conversion. Religion was always taught in Spanish, and the Indians learned language along with the lesson. In this way, the Spanish and Indian cultures were firmly joined. In our state today we notice that wherever Spain has touched she has left her language firmly embedded in the land. This is largely due to this teaching of the native children at the missions.[a]

The mission, as well as a religious school, was an industrial training school. There were weaving rooms, a blacksmith shop, a tannery, a wine press, and warehouses. There were irrigation ditches, vegetable gardens, and grain fields. On the ranges roamed literally thousands of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats.

The missions even provided self-government for the Indians. The pueblo always had an Indian government, with officials chosen in local election. The Indians had their own jail, officers, and judge. Although all Indian officials could be overruled by Spanish authority, the Spaniards did provide instruction and examples of simple self-government. This ordered Indian government explains how two missionaries and six soldiers could build a healthy town out of two or three thousand savages recently brought together from different and warring tribes.

In these ways, then, the missionaries were the Spanish pioneers. As their first task they spread Catholicism. But, in addition, they explored new lands, encouraged colonization, and taught the Indians the Spanish language, new skills, and the arts of self-government. More important, the missions encouraged the protection of the Indians rather than their destruction. In the English colonies the only good Indians were dead Indians. In the Spanish missions an effort was made to improve the Indians for this life and for the next. Sometimes the missions prospered and sometimes they failed. Nevertheless, we must never forget that thousands of Texans have great-grandparents who were once mission Indians, and learned from the missionaries the basics of Spanish civilization. For these reasons the missions received the king's support, were a proud monument to Spain's abilities, and served a vital purpose in Texas history.

Founding of the Texas Missions

At the beginning of the eighteenth century many, many miles of desolate, untamed land stretched between the French New World capital, New Orleans, and Cuidad de México, the capital of Spain's Nueva España. However, rumors traveled well between the two bitter enemies. The story of St. Denis's trip up the Red River accompanied by tales of invasion and illegal trading kept running back and forth across the frontier like lightning until it finally reached the ears of the then Viceroy of New Spain, The Duke of Linares. Alarmed, El Duque de Linares called a junta general or high cabinet meeting. The junta was disturbed and decided to colonize and arm their Texas possession as a protection against a possible French invasion. The mission-presidio system was, of course, selected as the method of colonization, and the Viceroy Linares ordered an expedition to be prepared to colonize Tejas.

The captain of this expedition was Captain Domingo Ramón and, curiously enough, his chief guide was the adventuring Frenchman, St. Denis. This was the year 1816, the time of St. Denis's first trip into Tejas. The expedition left Saltillo in February 1716, with twenty-five soldiers, ten friars and three laymen.[3] At the head of the friars was Father Isidro Felix de Espinosa, a Franciscan from Querétero. Favorite among the friars, however, was Fray Hidalgo who had lived among the friendly Tejas for more than three years in East Tejas.

The expedition first traveled to San Juan Bautista where St. Denis was married to the niece of Captain Domingo Ramón. After days of celebration a much larger group started northward into Tejas. Now the train was quite impressive and included between eighty and ninety persons, 64 oxen, 490 horses and mules, more than 1,000 goats and sheep, and a large cargo of luggage, supplies, and gifts for the Indians.[4]

The calvalcade crossed the Rio Grande, the Nueces, the Frio, and the San Antonio Rivers. On May 23 they reached the Colorado River near the present city of Austin where they were met by high flood waters. However, friendly Indians helped them cross and joined the group. This scene was repeated at the Brazos and Trinity Rivers. By the time Captain Ramón and his party reached their destination, a Tejas village on the Neches, several hundred Indians were with them.

On June 26 the Spaniards entered the Tejas camp on the Neches and a great ceremony took place. The Indians were delighted and welcomed the missionaries warmly as they remembered kind and generous missionaries who had passed that way before. As a symbol of welcome, they presented a peace pipe with a three-foot stem decorated in white feathers.[5]

The smoking of the peace pipe was an event. The chiefs smoked first. The first puff of smoke was blown to the sky, the second to the East, the third to the West, the fourth to the North, the fifth to the South, and the sixth to the ground. This was the sign of lasting peace. When the chiefs had finished, the pipe was passed to Captain Ramón and then to every man and woman.

The Indian village was chosen as the site of the first mission and on July 5, Mission San Francisco de los Tejas was dedicated. It was given to Fray Hidalgo who had waited for many years to return to the Tejas.

Ramón and his company then went on to found three missions in this area. About eight leagues (a league is an old measurement equal to about three miles) northeast of San Francisco, La Purísima de Acuña, more often called Concepción, was planted. The third mission to be established by Ramón was Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe about nine leagues east of Concepción, and the fourth, San José, about five leagues southeast of Concepción.

In each case the Indians joined the missionaries in a grand celebration to open the mission. However, the Indians then disappeared into the forest promising to return as soon as their crops were harvested.

But almost as soon as the four missions were planted and houses built for the friars and soldiers, Captain Ramón and his missionary settlements realized they were in trouble. There they were, ten priests and 25 soldiers, surrounded by four or five thousand Indians with enemy Apache to the North and enemy Karankawas to the south. The Indians, meanwhile, more interested in growing pumpkins and corn and hunting, stopped coming to the missions. They perferred their own temples where perpetual fires had burned to their gods for years. To add to the problems of the settlements, sickness fell upon soldiers and friars.

But Fray Olivares, the director of the four missions, remained enthusiastic. In the fall he traveled to Nacogdoches and founded two new missions nearby, the Mission of San Miguel de Linares, and the Misiôn Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. He then traveled to Mexico to report on the conditions of the missions in Tejas.

Fray Olivares Wins More Support

Not ready to give up his cause and an able politician, Fray Olivares was very clever in presenting his report to the new viceroy, Marquis de Valero. Olivares made four major points. He told how the French were befriending the Indians and then using them to trespass upon Spanish territory. He also reported on what a beautiful and fertile country Tejas was with its abundant plants and game. He called it a marvelous new world where, in addition, the souls of at least forty-five tribes could be saved. He finally declared that there were now not four but six missions among four thousand Indians ready for Christianity. Thus, appealing to Spain's fear of the French, to her religious zeal, and to her desire for more prosperous lands, he presented his plan for saving the Eastern missions.[6] He proposed to build additional missions and presidios among other Indians and suggested as a site for a new mission the San Antonio River about half way between East Texas and the settlements in Mexico. No doubt, Olivares planned the new mission mainly as a useful post to support and supply his six settlements.

Olivares' well-planned plea won the Viceroy. Viceroy Valero appointed Martin de Alarcon to head an expedition to establish Mission San Antonio de Valero on the San Antonio River, and Olivares began gathering supplies to support the new mission. His list included cows, sheep, and goats, agricultural implements, tools for carpenters and masons, articles for holding church services and a six foot portrait of St. Francis.[7]

Founding of San Antonio

On May 5, 1718, Alarcon took possession of the site which was to become the Villa de Bejar. The royal flag was raised, Mass was celebrated, and the Mission of San Antonio de Valero was founded. Five days later the foundations were laid for the persidio of the Villa de Bejar, which was to grow into the modern city of San Antonio.

Trouble in the East

Suddenly, shortly after the founding of San Antonio, the situation between Spain and her old enemy France changed. While before the American representatives of Spain and France had satisfied themselves with quarreling over borders and trade agreements, war was declared between the two countries in Europe. Their colonial representatives, of course, followed suit.

The peaceful friars of the East Texas missions had heard nothing of the war and were thus defenseless when a band of seven Frenchmen attacked the Missiõn San Miguel without warning. One managed to escape and carry the news that a French army was marching on the other missions. The soldiers and friars in panic beat a hasty retreat westward to

San Antonio de Bejar. Here they paused to wait for reinforcements.

The friars, however, were never idle. While awaiting support from the Viceroy they built Mission San Jose de Aguayo about six miles below San Antonio. This lovely mission still stands as a monument to their enthusiasm.

Then in 1721 the long awaited help arrived. The Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo rode into San Antonio at the head of a force of 500, the largest army ever to cross the Rio Grande. The friars eagerly joined him and all marched on to the Neches where they found the missions destroyed but little else changed. The French had made no effort either to colonize or hold the province. The Indians excitedly welcomed the return of the friars. The good brothers brought gifts, held feasts and celebrations, and resumed services among the merriment. Within one month all of the missions had been re-established.

The Eastern missions, however, faced lean years. The Indians refused to adopt Christianity and the French both encouraged and gave them the arms to resist. Also, European diseases were weakening the tribes. There was no stopping the spread of measles, small pox, and venereal disease once the

Spaniards arrived. The poor friars were unwittingly destroying the very people they had come to help.

By 1727 San Miguel had not one Indian and Dolores and Guadalupe had many but none of them were converts. Even more desperate were the missions of the Querêteran friars, Concepciôn, San Jose and San Frnacisco de los Tejas. The Franciscans had niether Indians nor hope of collecting any.

Eastern Missions Moved to San Antonio

As these friars were accomplishing nothing, they decided to move their missions to greener pastures and selected to transfer them to San Antonio. There in 1731, they were formally dedicated and put under the protection of the presidio of Bejar. However, only Concepciôn kept its name. San Josê became San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de los Tejas was dedicated to San Francisco de la Espada. Immediately the luck of the missions changed. Their combined population rapidly reached over one thousand as the Indian tribes who had followed the friars from the East in search of gifts from the padres and richer land decided to stay in the pleasant new country.

The San Antonio Mission Cluster

A little cluster of five missions was created by the uniting of the three Eastern missions with the two already on the San Antonio River. This cluster was to be through the next century the ceter of the Spanish pioneer movement. Here was the capital of the Spanish culture, government, military, and economy in the province of Tejas.

Of course, San Antonio had certain advantages. One was its location. It was the closest of all missionary settlements to New Spain. The climate, too, was attractive. It was mild, dry and healthy, quite similar, in fact, to the climate of Spain. Also, the area was not the hunting ground of any powerful tribe of Indians. The poor grubbing Coahuilticans that did live there were no danger to Spanish firars.

With plenty of water, many trees, limestone for building, and several miles of rolling, rich soil, the five little missions, Alamo, San José, Concepción, San Juan and Espada grew and prospered.

San Antonio de Valero

The first of these, San Antonio de Valero, or the Alamo as it is more often called, was upon its dedication no more than a group of crude wooden buildings. But in 1744, the foundation of the stone church we know today as the Alamo was laid. The church was built on one side of the plaza whose walls were ten feet high and three feet thick. This plaza was used to store livestock and supplies and to protect the mission against the Indians. When Fray Olivares arrived he had brought with him several friendly Tlascan Indians. Converts increased their numbers and it was they who built the church, the convent, and the plaza de armas. They also cleared the fields and dug the acequía for irrigation. Until recently this very acequía still ran by the Alamo. But today the fields of the mission which lay between the dtich and the San Antonio River can no longer be seen because they sprout downtown San Antonio.

San Josê

Earlier we read of the Eastern friars' retreat before the attacking French and their stay at San Antonio de Bexar. While they waited to return to the East they built on the San Antonio River a mission called San Josê. After the friars once more moved east this mission continued to prosper and grow. Because of both its beauty and strength, all called it the queen of the missions. The first buildings were of adobe but they were soon replaced by stone structures so strong that one Spanish writer boasted that while the Apaches attacked the Alamo, they never dared attack San José.[8] Not only was the mission well-built, but the Indians of San José were also well-trained and loyal soldiers. In fact the mission was often used as a second presidio.

The buildings were beautiful as well as strong. Pedro Huisa, a famous sculptor, spent several years carving the fine stone carvings that decorated them. Two still remind us of his ability, the facade on the front door of the church and the beloved rose window.

The church buildings were inside the walls of the plaza. Built into the walls themselves were the homes of the Indians. Behind the church was a series of tiny rooms called cloisters and cells. In the cloisters the friars did penance by fasting and beating themselves. In the cells, Indians were punished by other Indian officers for crimes. The ruins of the granary still stand today to show us the tremendous size of the mission, and the overgrown fields and acequîas tell us of the mission's great agricultural wealth. San Antonio, however, has flooded out and around the mission to hide it from the world.

As well as being the queen of the missions, San José was always the head of the San Antonio missions. The friar in charge was usually the president of all the missions in the province. San José was also the most successful among the five. It boasted the largest number of converts, baptisms, cattle and corn.

San Juan de Capistrano, Concepción, and San Francisco de la Espada

We remember that in 1731 the Missions San Juan de Capistrano, Concepción, and San Francisco de la Espada were moved from the Neches to the San Antonio River, where their luck improved immediately.

Of these Concepción was the most important. It was nearest the Alamo and the city. Today it still stands as the best preserved mission in Texas.

The missions of San Juan and San Francisco de la Espada were smaller than the other missions and have almost disappeared with the years. Only the ruins of the old stone churches remain. However, we must remember that they, too, like the Alamo, San José, and Concepción, were in the eighteenth century far more than mere churches where Indians baptized and attended an occasional mass.[9]

Life in the Missions

Actually a mission was a way of life. It was a school for teaching the Spanish language, culture, and skills to the Indians. Over the years thousands of Indians gathered around the five San Antonio missions. There they arose early in the morning to attend mass, work in the fields, and build the stone structures. They even learned to memorize and recite Spanish prayers and vespers. The missionary who could teach an Indian to plow, plant, read and write was definitely an energetic and intelligent man.

New Settlers at San Antonio

Others, however, besides missionaries, soldiers, and Indians lived in the mission cluster community. In 1731 a great and promising event occurred for the City of San Antonio. The fathers had begged the government for years to send settlers to San Antonio to show the Indians how to live. Finally, on March 9, 1731, fifty-six Canary Islanders accepted the government's offer to come to Tejas with the agreement that the government would pay transportation, all costs for one year, and would make them noblemen or hidalgos. These were to be some of San Antonio's most famous families.[10]

When the settlers arrived they expected to be treated like noblemen and were disgusted with the little settlement between the missions called La Villita. Being newly named hidalgos, they intended to live the life of the gentleman, refused to work, and wanted the Indians to work their fields and build their homes. The priests refused and a long feud followed which finally ended in the peaceful friars losing their missions.

These settlers, in the end, served as poor examples to the Indians but did add to the population and future success of the little settlement now called San Antonio. Their descendants, along with those of the soldiers, and those of the Indians educated in Spanish ways by the friars lived on for many years in the San Antonio area to build the province, the republic, and finally, the state called Texas.

Failure in the East

Although the other three Eastern missions also requested a move to the San Antonio area, their request was denied. They continued to struggle with little success, began to trade illegally with the French to survive, and were later investigated and abandoned by the Spanish.

Hence, despite the friars' difficult and desperate efforts, the missions were not achieving success. Their missionary fervor, however, remained strong. So enthusiastic were they that in the midst of this depression and dissatisfaction, a third wave of mission-founding was headed toward the province of Tejas.

In the year 1747, there were nine missions in the region known as Tejas. Dolores, San Miguel and Guadalupe, as well as an unsuccessful settlement named La Bahia remained in the east in the valleys of the Sabine and Neches. The Alamo (Valero), Concepción, San Josê, San Juan, and San Francisco de la Espada rested on the San Antonio River near the presidio of Bejar. Thus the whole region was naturally divided into two divisions, an eastern and a western.

The Missionaries Come Again

But this division was to be changed. In 1747 the Franciscans once more crossed the Rio Grande and during the next fifteen years founded six new missions. They were Candelabra, Xavier, San Ildefonso, San Saba, San Lorenzo, and Nuestra Señora de la Luz.

The first three in the list were planted in 1747 on the San Xavier River. According to the friars, they were founded at the request of a number of Indian tribes. This being true or not, the missions were ill-fated from the beginning. The friars and the soldiers fell into an immediate and long-lasting argument. While the friars were disgusted and dismayed with the soldiers' lazy and sinful ways, the soldiers resented the friars because they denied them the use of Indian labor. The dispute continued, deepened, involved the natives and finally climaxed in the ambush and murders of friars Ganzabal and Ceballos.

San Saba Planned

In the meantime, back at the missions around San Antonio, an unusual request had been made. In the midst of a series of Apache raids, a group of Apaches boldly entered the mission Valero and, refusing to speak with the Spanish Long-Knives, demanded to see the Brown Robes or padres. The Apaches told the priests that they desired a mission in their own country on the San Saba River far to the northwest. They wanted only peace and asked the padres' good word with the soldiers. The soldiers grumbled, but the priests were overjoyed at the opportunity to plant a mission in Apachería. They immediately asked the Viceroy to fund the expedition. It was while the viceroy was considering this request that the murders at the Xavier missions occurred.

Padre Mariano de los Dolores, one of the prime movers in the missionary effort again demonstrated the expert, political ability of the mission priest. He quickly took advantage of the unsettled state to push the plea for an Apachería mission. He claimed that the violent deaths of Frays Ganzabal and Ceballos, followed by a severe drought and a series of plagues were signs of heaven's wrath and a stern warning that the sinning Spaniards must repent and return to their divine crusade. Although the group of disasters may have only been a coincidence, the Viceroy was not willing to take any chances. He granted the request and on May 20, 1756 gave the order to move the Presidio of Xavier to the San Saba.

Founding of San Saba

The missionary movement was renewed with a fresh burst of energy. At last the Apaches were to be saved! Don Pedro Romero de Terreras, Conde de Regla offered to support for three years at his own expense all the missions which could be successfully established. Fray Geraldo de Terreros was put in charge of the work. An expedition began the long trip to the North in the end of 1756 and arrived at the Saba in mid-April, 1757. Here in the heart of Apache country they erected the presidio named San Luis de los Amarillas in honor of the viceroy and the Missiôn San Saba.

The Apache had been meek enough in San Antonio, but now, in their own country, they put the Spanish off. They insisted that they could not join the missionaries just yet because of the hunting season. Later it was something else. The disappointed priests hopefully kept the mission open. The Indians seemed to be waiting for something and the priests, knowing little about the far frontier, decided to be patient.

When we look back, we clearly see what was happening. The Apaches, threatened by the Spaniards on the south and shredded by the terrible Comanches from the north, keenly hoped to direct their enemies' attention away from fighting them and toward fighting one another. They had lured a mission not just into Apacherîa, but a little beyond the borders of Comanche country. They were eagerly waiting to see what the Comanches would do about it.

A year passed, another spring came and priest and soldier alike relaxed, enjoying the wonderful beauty of the wild land. While the Indians were perhaps not enthusiastic over Christianity, they were, after all, peaceful and harmless. The grass grew green and lush, and early in March 1758, the moon shone huge and full. Both priests and soldiers were delighted with the scene. Neither knew that when the grass was thick and the moon threw light to ride by, Comanche warriors could roam a thousand miles.

The Massacre of San Saba

Then something happened. Every Apache suddenly disappeared. No one saw an Indian--but one morning there were shrieks and shouts, and a rush of horsemen swooped down on the Spanish pasture. Sixty horses disappeared.

Colonel Parilla, the head of the presidio, put all his men on the walls, and ordered the friars to move to the presidio at once. The padres refused. Terreros told Parilla that no unseen Indians would wish the padres harm.[11]

Early the next morning, March 16, Padre Terreros held the usual Mass. But during his prayers, there was a booming yell outside the palisade.

The soldiers ran to the walls and cocked their muskets. Padre Terreros climbed to the tower. What they saw made them speechless. Two thousand Comanches, all on horseback, were slowly circling the mission walls. Terreros still stammered that these men must be friendly because the priests had done no one any harm.

Terreros refused to give the order to fire. He seemed hypnotized by the splendor of the Comanches. They were painted in war paint, although the Spanish did not know it, and wore head pieces of buffalo horns, deer antlers, and eagle plumes. All were armed with lances, bows, and French muskets.

A Comanche warrior boldly walked up to the gate and opened it. After that, it was too late. The Indians poured inside. Terreros and the other priests began to bring out tobacco and beads with shaking hands.

Meanwhile, a large party of Comanches rode off to the presidio. The Spanish soldiers never had a chance. Every soldier was shot or lanced. Only one was able to crawl away.

When the party that had killed the soldiers returned to the mission, yelling and waving fresh scalps, the killing began. Before they could even fire, the Spanish soldiers were shot or filled with arrows. One priest was stabbed and his head cut off. Two Comanches seized Terreros and carried him off for torture.

Padre Molina, another priest, and several others hid in the mission church, which was made of green logs and did not burn. Here they stayed, shaking and praying until the last whooping Comanche rode away.

The Spanish Army Suffers Defeat

The destruction of San Saba caused panic and rage at the capital, San Antonio de Bexar. The burning of a mission and the murder of priests must be revenged. An expedition to punish the Comanches was planned. In August 1759, Colonel Parilla, who had escaped with Molina, was put in command of six hundred men with orders to sweep clean Indain country. This was the biggest army the New World had seen.

Only part of Parilla's army were Spanish soldiers. The rest were Indian allies and Apaches who wanted to fight the enemy Comanche. The army left San Antonio in August and marched farther and farther north, until by October 1759, they neared the Red River.

Here they found Indians. Colonel Parilla in his own account said that he fought 6,000 Comanches who waved the French flag, and who probably were helped by French officers.[12]

Whether or not the French really were involved we do not know, but Parilla met the worst defeat in the history of the Spanish army in the New World. When he attacked the Indians, his Indian allies and the Apaches ran for their lives. Parilla fought his way out losing few Spaniards but losing all of his supplies. Although not many Spaniards were killed, Spanish pride received a horrible defeat. From this time on there was a terrible change on the Spanish frontier. From 1759 forward the Spanish were losing ground.

Closing of an Era

As mentioned earlier, in 1773 the last of the missions and presidios in the East were closed and their occupants, supplies, and livestock moved to San Antonio de Bexar. The center of Spanish Tejas, although holding its own, was not doing well. It was isolated, unable to trade with French Louisiana by law, and unable to gather enough Indians to support itself. To make matters worse the missionaries, soldiers, and settlers argued bitterly among themselves. The missionaries thought the soldiers and settlers sinful and refused to lend them Indian labor. The soldiers and settlers considered the priests selfish with both land and labor. All three fought between one another over ownership of the fields. After two generations of Spanish settlement the population of the mission complex was only 1,700. Between three and four hundred were Spanish. The rest were Indians, mestizos and culebras. Culebra is the Spanish word for mulatto. Since there were no Blacks on the Spanish frontier, it meant a mixture of Spanish and Indian. A mestizo was a converted Indian who had adopted Spanish ways.

As well as internal problems, the missionaries were plagued by external troubles. At this time Spanish colonization had not really crossed the Rio Grande in force. Hundreds of miles of burning brush separated the Tejas capital from the first settlements of New Spain making trade slow, protection poor, and government difficult.

But even more critical was the Indian problem. The Spanish had brought the horse to Apachería and the horse had brought the Comanche. The most frightening calvary the world had ever seen was created. The Spanish never could tame the Comanches. The problem grew worse. Every frontier settlement from New Mexico through Tejas lived in terror. It was so bad that to go from San Antonio to Santa Fe one had to go south to Durango and then up the Rio Grande. Even a full company of soldiers could not cross the Apache-Comanche plain.

Despite numerous problems, the mission-presidio idea of colonization died slowly. Mission after mission failed as the Indians moved on. After the middle of the 18th century, the group of missions at San Antonio began to shrink, too. Finally in 1793, because of many requests by the citizens and soldiers of San Antonio, the mission of San Antonio de Valero was secularized. In other words, the lands were divided and the mission building was given to the military.

One by one the remaining missions met the fate of the Alamo. On April 10, 1794 San Josê, the most important of the missions, was secularized. Once the richest mission among the San Antonio five, San Josê had fallen from a population of 209 to a population of 55. In the same year, Concepciôn, San Juan, and Espada left the hands of the friars. The only mission remaining in Tejas was Refugio, which had been built at the time of San Saba. It struggled on until 1830 but 1794 marks the real end of the missionary period. At this time, after 140 years of Spanish occupation of Tejas, there were only four Spanish settlements, Nacogdoches, Goliad, Refugio, and San Antonio, and a Spanish population of less than three thousand.

Contributions of the Missions

The success of the missionary period, however, cannot be measured either by the number of settlements or the number of colonists in Tejas. The Spanish had discovered in Tejas a land not unlike their native Spain. Hence, they were already well-adapted to the environment and able to contribute much to Tejas.

They brought the first cattle, horses, goats, pigs, cats and chickens. With great effort they brought the first hoes, spades, plows, and pliers used in Tejas. The first wheels on American soil were from Spain. Many say, too, that the English did not bring one agricultural product to Tejas which the Spanish had not brought before.[13]

This list is a long one including peaches, figs, oranges, apples, grapes, apricots, limes, pears, olives and lemons. The first wheat seeds came from Spain as did the first alfalfa, flax, and cotton seed.

From the Spanish the Indians learned to hammer silver and copper, to work iron, and to use farm tools. The Spanish also taught the Indians to weave. To this day, the Indians use Spanish names for the colors in their blankets: morada subido, rosa baja, oro, amarillo, tostado.[14]

That Spanish civilization finally failed to develop and prosper on the Tejas plains is due to many things. Some of the reasons are directly related to the problems Spain herself was having at this time. Her form of government had failed to grow and change with her empire. It was too centralized, did not allow Spanish subjects any self-government, and failed to change its strict class system. The missions were not allowed to adapt to the demands of the land. They had to follow the rigid laws set up by a government many, many miles away. Of course, the fierce power of the Apache and Comanche also contributed to the failure of the mission system.

Because of this difficult life, however, the missionaries were forced to plant things firmly. Whatever lasted had to be tough and well-adapted to the Tejas frontier. Hence, though the father was Spanish, the son was Mexican and Indian. While the Spanish brought the seeds and plows, the Indians plowed and planted. Tejas frontier culture was definitely a trio. To try to separate the Spanish, Mexican and Indian influences in Texas would be impossible because the three of them by the nineteenth century had created together a Tejas culture all its own.[15]

Spontaneous Spanish Settlement Prospers

Spain and Mexico came to Tejas in ways other than through her mission system. We remember that the Frenchman St. Denis and his promise of French trade had in the first days of Spanish colonization caused a group of Spanish to found the present day city Nacogdoches. These people had become small farmers and herders in the rich piney woods. The Caddoans left them alone, the Comanches never found them, and they created a comfortable life. By the opening of the nineteenth century this group of pioneers numbered 500 and were continuing to grow and prosper. The descendants of these early Spanish farmers still live in this region and the old stone fort still stands as a monument to the original 500.

The Land of the Charro

It was another separate Spanish advance at the time of this early Spanish colonization, however, that was to have the greatest influence on Texas culture.[16] A way of life was developing in northern Mexico that would spread all the way north to Calgary, Canada. This was the development of the rancho or cattle-raising ranch.

The explorer Hernando Cortes had brought the first cattle to Mexico in 1521. He was also the first man to use brands, not on his cattle but on his captive Aztec slaves. Indians were branded with the letter "G" for guerra, meaning prisoner of war. Thus, they were marked as personal property and were put to work herding their master's cattle. The brand naturally was transferred from the Indian to the cattle to show that the cattle also were personal property.

Spanish-Mexican cattle were lean, longhorned, ugly and tough. Left to roam wild, they flourished and increased. With such cattle and so much land the Mexican cattle industry became entirely different from the cattle industry in Europe. Cattle were branded, and turned loose on the open range. Then they were protected from wild Indians, rounded up, and branded or slaughtered by a new kind of laborer, the vaquero. These cattle were not much good for beef but they could be reaised for hides.

Open spaces, a rough frontier peopled by dangerous Indians, and work done entirely on horseback created the customs and values known as charro. It took a strong, new kind of man to be a charro or vaquero, to ride alone, work with wild, often dangerous animals, and to face the Indian by himself.

This man created a culture, a tradition, and a mythology all his own.

This culture was well established by the eighteenth century. The charro at this time already wore the sombrero, the big leather belt with the silver buckle, the buckskin jacket with silver buttons, the tight horseman's trousers, boots and chaps. The charros even had their own language. We all recognize the well-known Mexican words corral, bronco, loco, arroyo, lazo, adobe, pinto, and rancho.

It was Colonel José de Escandon, a Spaniard from Santander, who brought this culture northward to Tejas. He received permission in November of 1748 from the government of New Spain to move people north and plant settlements along the Rio Grande. By 1749 he had arrived at the Rio Grande where he founded twenty towns in all.

He avoided the coast, thinking it unhealthy. Instead he planted all his settlements west of Reynosa in what he considered a drier, healthier climate. Therefore, the Texas cattle culture was planted on the banks of the Rio Grande west of Reynosa. Reynosa and Camargo were founded in 1749, Revilla in 1750, Mier in 1753, and Laredo in 1755. Laredo, unlike the other settlements, Escadon placed on the north bank of the river which he considered best. In all Escadon settled 3,600 Spaniards and 3,000 converts in his new province which he called New Santander.[17] The borders of the province did not stop at the Rio Grande. They went north to the Nueces near Corpus Christi, then northwest to the Medina, then south to the Sierra Madres, deep in Mexico.

The culture that took hold and spilled into Tejas was permanent. The ranchero and vaquero rode together onto the frontier and each stayed and multiplied. Both put a solid stamp onto Tejas that was to last and last and finally become an American legend.

Cattle by the thousands spilled over the Rio Grande and roamed north. Here on the grassy plains by the Nueces, cattle and cattlemen found a new home. The climate was mild, the land open and rich in feed, and the Indians scarce. Apaches and Comanches did not care to enter south Tejas. Game was not plentiful and putting the presidio at San Antonio to their backs made them feel unsafe. Also, all Indians preferred to raid a Spanish settlement or mission, than to make war on a mounted and armed Spanish-Mexican cattle ranch.

Life, though, was hard for the new towns along the Rio Grande. There were almost no carpenters, artisans, or men with professional skills. There was no education and little money. Cattle, sheep, goats, and beans provided enough for all to live. Spring and fall brought the terror of Indian raids. Although many peace talks were held with the Indians, and every year the governor at San Antonio gave at least two thousand gifts to Apaches and Comanches, nothing helped the little southern towns.

But the courageous new culture clung. Nuevo Santander stretching from Tampico to Corpus Christi Bay and westward again to Laredo, contained 15,000 Spanish speakers in 1800.

This Mexican colonization of the Rio Grande affected Tejas greatly. It did three major things. First it brought the charro and the Mexican cattle kingdoms to Tejas. Secondly, it planted certain features of Spanish law in Tejas, and, finally it planted a breed of tough Mexican frontiersmen who were there to stay.[18]

Spanish-Mexican settlements in Tejas, however, remained scattered. The seeds of a culture were planted but the population was still small. The first really successful Mexican colonization of Tejas was not to come until much later in the twentieth century.

NOTES

[1] John Francis Bannon (ed.), Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Okalnoma Press, May 1968), p. 200.

[2] Ibid., p. 204.

[3] Walter F. McCaleb, Spanish Missions of Texas (San Antonio, The Naylor Company, 1961) p. 23.

[4] Ibid., p. 25.

[5] Ibid., p. 27.

[6] Ibid., p. 45.

[7] Ibid., p. 46.

[8] Lon Tinkle, Joe Schmitz, Dorman Winfrey, Joe Franz, James Day, and Ben Proctor, Six Missions of Texas (Waco, Texas: Texian Press, 1965), p. 140.

[9] Ibid., p. 78.

[10] Ibid., p. 13.

[11] T. R. Fehrenbach, Lone Star (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 60.

[12] Ibid., p. 62.

[13] Carey McWilliams, North from Mexico (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 28.

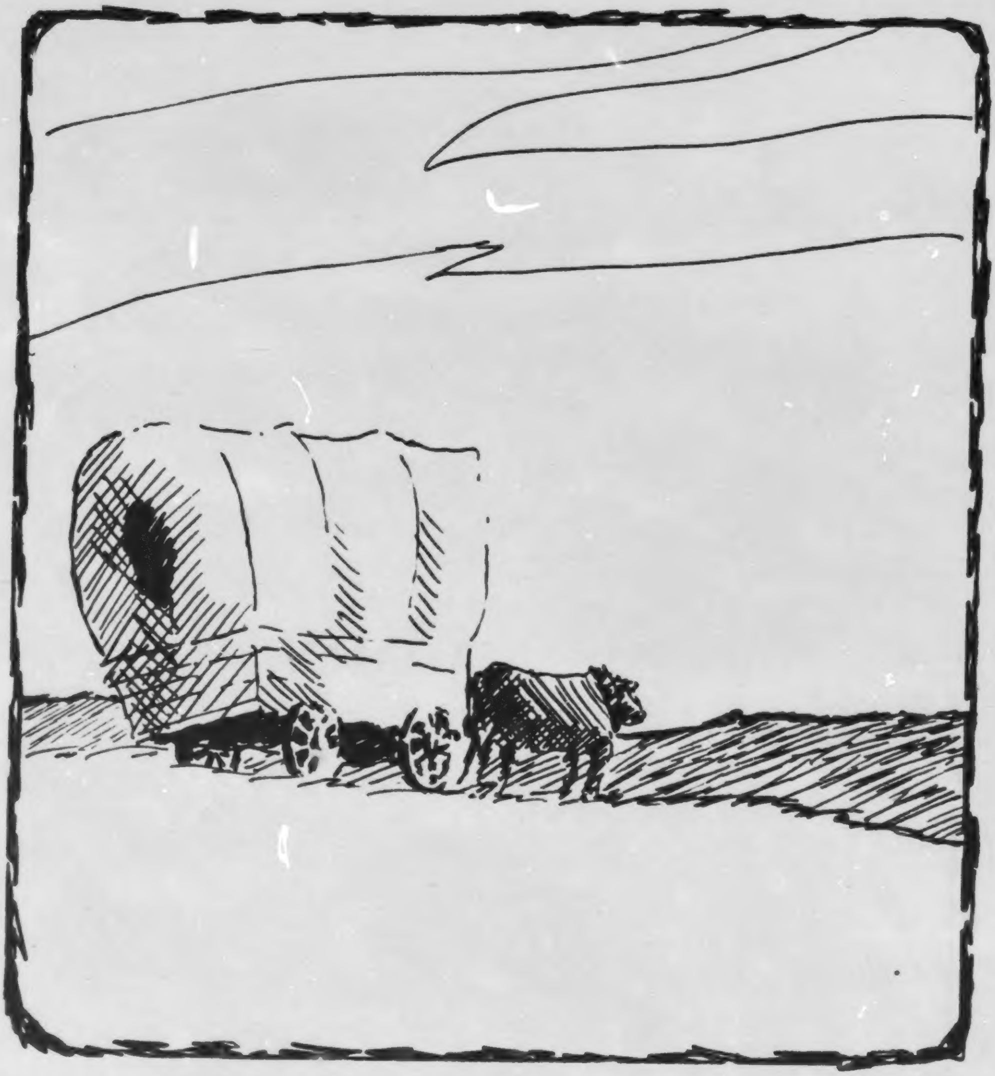
[14] McCaleb, op. cit., p. 33.

[15] Ibid., p. 34.

[16] Fehrenback, _op_. _cit_., p. 73.

[17] _Ibid_., p. 76.

[18] _Ibid_., p. 78.



CHAPTER V

THE ANGLOS ARRIVE IN TEXAS

The Spanish arrived in the New World sure that God would provide and for several centuries were not disappointed. They found fantastic supplies of gold, silver, copper and rich plantations. Britain and France in this age had found no lands with precious metals, and enviously watched Spain and dreamed of taking away her possessions.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Spanish empire in America was an impressive sight. New Spain alone contained seven million people, as many as Great Britain. The City of Mexico was a wealthy and modern capital ruling over an area which had at least twice the population of the Anglo-American states.

Reaching northward from this glittering center, Spain owned almost all of the lands of the present United States west of the Mississippi, plus Florida and most of the Gulf Coast. The Spanish had replaced the French in the huge Louisiana Territory. Tejas, New Mexico, and Arizona had been Spanish for centuries. Spanish missions and presidios, in an effort to protect Spain against the approaching Russians, were moving up the California coast. North of the Rio Grande, however, the Spanish colors flew over a lonely land which the Spanish Crown, despite courageous efforts, could not fill. And, although Spain had at last rid the New World of her old threat, France, it was not seven years before the English-speaking settlements on the Atlantic began moving toward Tejas in one of the greatest armed migrations of all times.

The Making of the Anglo Texan

While Spain tried to build the New World in its own image, England exiled to the New World undesirables, troublemakers, and refugees. While Spanish gentlemen came to the New World to make their fortune and then returned to Spain, English settlers emigrated because life in England was unbearable.

Two characteristics of this American immigration are very important. First, the people left England for religious reasons and never intended to return. Second, the immigration was never directed by the English government. For many years the various kings paid little attention to England's possessions.

The settlers were left to develop a society of their own in the New World.

Each colony contained its own type of settler, developed its own way of life and had little to do with the other English colonies. Hence, the people who had pushed west by 1750 had a different culture, world view, and even racial origin than those settlers on the Atlantic Coast. The major race of this frontier was that of the Presbyterian or Scotch-Irish. To understand the push westward it is very important to understand the background and beliefs of these people.

The Scotch-Irish

The Scotch-Irish were once borderers between England and Scotland on the British Isles. They were a tough, stubborn, sour people well adapted to border war. They fought the English for centuries and in the sixteenth century became even more fierce when they took up the teachings of a new religious leader, John Knox.

Knox brought a brand new vision of God, man, and the world. Basically, it was a rejection of the whole European Catholic way of thought. The priest became the preacher and not only the Church but all of Christianity was changed.

The Scotch-Irish, still a warrior race, and other Protestants went to war over their new religion in the seventeenth century and, though England was shaken, Protestant Puritanism never really took hold in Europe. The Scotch-Irish took their unpopular ideas and fled to America. The English were glad to see them go.

The Scots landed at Philadelphia and Charleston with certain opinions firmly fixed. They were very self-disciplined both because of their Puritan ethic and their warlike borderer's life. They had three major ideals. They were thrifty, self-reliant, and hard-working.[1] They believed that gentlemen were useless, and wicked, and that all men should be middle-class. Men and women were to have no place in life, only duties. Thus, the act of being someone was meaningless. Action was everything, and man could only be judged by what he did.

A religion this practical had no room for art but it did for education. Every man should learn to read the Bible, but his education did not include hours to diddle-daddle in artistic pursuits.

Like all truly successful immigrants, these Scotch-Irish left in Europe a world they hated. When they sailed they had broken all traditional ties and were bringing their own brand of civilization with them. They were the Israelites looking for the promised land. Hence, they were best fitted to seize new lands because they had no place else to go. People who already have a home tend to make poor pioneers.[2]

The invasion of the Scotch-Irish between 1700-1740 was uncontrolled. The British were happy to be rid of them and America paid them no attention. Thus, they followed a course that was second-nature to their warring border tribe. Passing through the settled coastal colonies, they headed straight for the Indian borders. At this time the Western frontier rested in the rolling, wooded valleys of what is today Pennsylvania.

They did great damage to this land but this was neither reckless nor unreasonable in their eyes. They were practical men not trained to see or enjoy beauty. Land was like money. One did not become attached to it. One acquired it, spent it, and then left it. Hence, each generation slipped farther down the hills and slopes to new land in the South.

The large family broke down. The settlers were constantly spreading out and moving on. It was a society of small farms in which children, as they grew older, left home to find their own farm in the open land. Thus, the Scotch-Irish were the first to destroy the American family unit.[3]

As the frontier broadened, English and Germans joined the original Scotch-Irish settlers. Origin became blurred. All were blending into a great population mass that would finally be called Anglo-Saxon.

Their birthrate was phenomenal. Life was hard, but the climate was mild, food was plentiful, and disease did not spread as easily as it did in crowded settlements. The Anglo-American population increase, in the eighteenth century, was far higher than the birthrates of Spain, Britain or France. It was higher than that of any region today, including China or South America. This increase was watched by the Latin world with horror.[4]

As the second half of the eighteenth century began, a tremendous American-born generation of Scotch-Irish was crowding the eastern valley of Appalachia. As land was used, ruined, and abandoned, and as hated English law approached the fontier, the region between the forests and the Appalachian Mountains was about to explode. So far as they were concerned, the Scotch-Irish had only one way to go. They had already turned their backs on European history. They kept its tools and their seventeenth century ideals, but while the world from Europe to Philadelphia was in a crisis of changing ideas, the

Scotch-Irish were unaffected. They were leaving European time and thought behind as they again headed west.

The Way West

The West was never really opened to the Anglo before a thirty-five-year-old Scotch-Irishman named Daniel Boone crossed over the mountains and scouted the grasslands of Kentucky in 1769. He was the first to make a permanent trail and to create a settlement beyond the mountains that was completely isolated from the East.

The distances and dangers involved in founding an empire between the mountains and the Mississippi caused most men to stay East. Those who crossed the Appalachians entered another world. The Atlantic world paid little attention to the struggle beyond the mountains, and the empire was won almost unnoticed by the people on the coast.

Certainly, the armed migration westward was no part of the liberal ideas of more human government developing on the coast. England at that time was not seeking more lands. At first the invasion of the West was not the result of any policy in America or Britain. The people pushed outward on their own and sucked their government with them, whether it wanted to go or not. This movement, from the very beginning, was nothing like that of either the Spanish or the French. No Anglo-American leader had the vision to guide or share this immigration. The Anglo government was later, however, smart enough to take advantage of it.[5]

Thus, the push westward by the Anglo-Saxons was very different from the Spanish push northward. The Spaniards carefully followed the orders and plans of their King. On the other hand, the Anglos followed no one. They sought and seized land on their own, following a very basic human instinct to grab land and to hold it. They were like the Indians they would destroy. These fierce pioneers well understood the rules of blood and soil.[6]

The Indians were not considered human beings by the frontiersman. Thus, while the Spanish felt they needed to Christianize and civilize the Indian in order to take his land, the Anglo needed no such excuse. Killing Indians was no more immoral than killing bears. The frontiersman, like the Spanish conquistador before him, felt his race completely superior, and experienced no guilt in his destruction of the Indian peoples.

This he did with amazing thoroughness. The Indians knew the country better, but the Anglo-American adapted well.

Not only did he learn Indian agriculture, but he also learned Indian warfare. Also, he had the advantage of the Central European rifle which was later called the Kentucky rifle. It was heavy, as tall as a man, and terribly accurate. The rifle was perfectly suited for the hills and forests of America, where man fought alone, hidden, and lying down. This weapon made the American frontiersman the most frightening fighter of his time.

Although the invasion of Kentucky was unplanned, the entire frontier began to burst. Little settlements sprang up and, as these men were far from their government and did not obey its laws, they formed their own governments. The large difference between these and the Spanish colonies was that the frontiersmen set up frontier government. There were no appointed officers responsible to a distant government. The pioneers moved away from the East, and then turned to one another for government rather than to the mother colonies.

U.S. Acquires the Mississippi Valley

The mass of sturdy hillbillies, taming the frontier, pulled the United States along behind them. Thomas Jefferson, then in the White House, realized that once a hundred thousand Anglo-Americans were in the Mississippi Valley, the United States must control New Orlens or lose those people. By a lucky historial accident, Jefferson was able to buy the Lousiana Territory in 1803 and thus push the unavoidable Anglo-Latin conflict further west.

The independent settlers of Kentucky and Tennessee might easily have created separate countries. The West seethed with revolutionaries. These regions found both the Eastern establishment and taxes unbearable, and they distrusted Eastern society, its rules and its land laws even more. The U.S. government, however, had other ideas for these settlements.

Kentucky and Tennessee Offered Statehood

Though the U.S. never had envisioned a westward movement, they were very clever in taking advantage of it. Up until this time no nation on earth had ever treated a colony or a province as an equal. This is exactly what the United States did. They offered Kentucky and Tennessee statehood. The advantages to the economy and defense of the area were too numerous to resist. In 1792 Kentucky became a state. At this point the doom of the Spanish empire in America was sealed.

With statehood, the tide of settlers across the mountains became a flood. New people came in to both increase and change the population of the frontier. Peaceful farmers replaced the Boones. The country pacified, the farmers were soon joined by merchants and big planters. With the planter came his slaves. Slavery ruined certain values on the formerly free frontier. It also produced race hatred. The frontiersman hated human slavery and it was easy for him to extend this feeling to the slaves. The laboring slave was his competition, yet he had no respect for him. The free farmers disliked planters but hated Blacks, labeling the victims with the system's blame.[7]

The Southern frontier like a swarm of jungle ants moved steadily toward Tejas. Also, like the ant, the frontiersman was industrious, self-disciplined, and tended to build his own little well-ordered anthill. Nowhere was there anything of the religious fervor of the Spanish or the individualism of the French.

A special brand of people was created along the southern frontier. They had shared common dangers and common hardships, and believed their culture superior in every aspect. Together they possed a sense of common destiny. Their zeal to push their culture into new land was not unlike the crusading spirit of the Spanish missionary.

The Anglo-American eighteenth century frontier, like that of the Spanish, was one of war. The word Texan was not yet part of the English language but from the bloody borders of Scotland to the backwoods of Tennessee this strange breed had already been formed.

The Anglo Enters Spanish Territory

To Spanish officers holding the west side of the Mississippi, the vision of this cold, sour, artless and warring race helping themselves to America was frightening. There was a historic hatred between the Spanish- and the English-speaking worlds, rooted way back in the Middle Ages. The Puritan frontiersman still told tales of the Spanish Inquisition and thought of the King of Spain as a tyrant who made heads roll and women burn. On the other hand, the Spanish court was horrified at the piracy of the Anglo-Saxon heretics. Ever since the cruel Morgan and Drake had sailed the seas under the English flag, robbing and plundering Spanish ships, "Anglosajón," in Spanish, had tood, at best, for men without manners and, at worst, for rapists and looters.

The French dream of a North American empire was destroyed in the French-Indian war and Spain inherited her fine position on the Mississippi. In this era before rail or land transportation Spain controlled all of inner America's way to the sea. But Spain suffered from the same weakness as had France; Spain, in the entire Louisiana Territory ruled only 20,000 Europeans and most of these were French. Again, Spain had not enough people to protect her land.

Don Francisco Bouligny, a Spanish officer in Louisiana, suggested a rather dangerous solution. In 1776 Bouligny recommended that Spain fight the Anglo-Saxon increase by bringing the Anglo-Saxon into the Spanish Empire. He suggested that Spain offer Anglo-Saxon immigrants large land grants if they would become Spanish citizens and pledge their loyalty to the Spanish Crown.

The American Revolution threw many refugees loyal to England across the border into the northern section of the Spanish territory. When the United States won its independence most of them, not wanting to return to the U.S. accepted Spain's offer and became Spanish citizens. The Anglo-American settlements in upper Louisiana prospered. Despite the clash of the cultures, there was no real trouble. The problem of religion was avoided and the Spanish trading restrictions were ignored by all concerned.

Two things brought the Spanish dream of a new Mississippi empire to an end. First, the United States was able to hold the settlements in Kentucky and when Spain threatened to close the Mississippi to U.S. ships, the U.S. promised war. Second, Napoleon, imagining himself emperor of the New World, forced Spain to give him Louisiana. Then, deciding the territory not worth the men to keep it, sold all; land, people, and claims to the U.S.

Hence, the Spanish attempt to bring in outside immigration to settle her empty territories ended suddenly in 1800. But the policy was important to later history for two reasons. First, Spain would try the idea again in Tejas because it had not really failed. The other reason was that one of the Anglos who took land in Louisiana and became a loyal citizen of Spain was a man named Moses Austin. He and his son were to bring the first Anglo-Saxon colony to Tejas.

The Filibusters

The Americans of the Southwest now had a taste of expansion, a sense of new land father west, and a feeling of

Anglo superiority, a feeling that then ran through the whole English-speaking world. In addition they were warlike.

These attitudes plus a lasting dislike and sense of separation from the Old World were useful in the building of a powerful, dominant United States. The West had three goals: more land, control of the continent, and expansion of its people. Although the frontiersmen firmly followed these ideas, their greedy policy has not been an easy one for history to justify. Americans have spent two centuries inventing excuses for sins committed in the name of expansion.

At the close of the eighteenth century, besides the wood choppers and farmers of the West, another class of expansionists was rising in the land. These were the men called filibusters, who cut a brief but bloody path across the Southwest.

The word filibuster comes from the old English word freebooter which the Anglo-Saxons used to describe men such as Sir Henry Morgan and Francis Drake. These men were really looters but they served a useful purpose in English eyes and actually became British heroes. Never raiding their own kind, they limited their damage to Spain, an ancient, religious and ethnic enemy. Looting Spanish ships loaded with gold from the

New World, they enriched themselves and weakened Spanish power for England. The Anglo-Saxons believed that the freebooters did things their own cowardly government would not do.

The French also had freebooters in the Gulf and Caribbean and called them boucaniers. French and English bucaneers were often allies. Freebooter came into the French language as filibustier and then, strangely enough, back into English as filibuster. In both languages the word carried the feeling of heroism and romantic adventure. The Spanish understandably never adopted a word for freebooter or buccaneer. All such men to the Spanish were just plain pirates.[8]

Philip Nolan

The first of the American filubusters was Philip Nolan. Nolan was an Irishman who had emigrated to the Anglo frontier in America looking for adventure. Nolan's business was mustanging, gathering wild horses in Texas and selling them to the growing market in the South. He roamed all over Texas and was the first English-speaking person to make an accurate map of Texas. In his business and map-making Nolan saw Spanish weakness and began dreaming of an empire.

Back in Louisiana Nolan entered into a secret agreement with General James Wilkinson, commander of the United States Army. Wilkinson offered his secret support to Nolan if he would take Texas away from New Spain.

In October 1800, Nolan reentered Texas with about twenty armed men and some slaves. They were posing as just another mustanging raid but the Texas governor, Juan Bautista de Elguezabal, smelled trouble and sent a company of soldiers to arrest Nolan. Nolan got as far as the Brazos river when his men were attacked by night and Nolan shot. The Anglos, now under Peter Ellis Bean, continued to fight, but, outnumbered, decided to surrender. The Spanish officer in charge, Músquiz, marched the Anglos to Mexico after writing in his diary, "Nolan's negroes begged permission to bury their master's body, which I granted after causing his ears to be cut off in order to send them to the Governor of Texas."

In Mexico all were sentenced to ten years hard labor and eventually died, except one, Bean himself. After escaping from prison, he fought in the Mexican Revolution under Morelos, became a colonel in the Mexican army, married rich, and died in bed.

General James Wilkinson

Meanwhile, Nolan's sponsor, Wilkinson, was busy with new ideas. Although he wore his nation's uniform, he served only himself and became one of the greatest double agents of all times.

Before he assumed command of the U.S. army, he had been part of plots against George Washington, and George Rogers Clark, and had become a secret citizen of Spain in order to take Kentucky away from the U.S. and give it to Spain. When he took charge of the U.S. army after the purchase of Louisiana he was still a citizen of Spain, and was drawing a regular salary from the Spanish in return for reports on what the anglosajones of the North were plotting next.

When Wilkinson and United States forces entered Louisiana, relations between the U.S. and Spain were very messy. The United States, by this time hot with land fever, insisted the Louisiana purchase had included all the land north and east of the Rio Grande. President Jefferson demanded that all Spaniards evacuate Tejas and Spain responded by sending in more troops. To Wilkinson fell the job of easing this tense situation and establishing the border between Tejas and Louisiana.

Wilkinson, however, had other interests. He told the British government about a possible Anglo-American invastion of New Spain, and then when the British became interested, told Spain that Britain was plotting against her. Spain increased his pay.

Never ceasing his secret activity, Wilkinson caught the imagination of the Vice-President of the U.S., Aaron Burr. Telling Burr that there was a great personal empire to be gained by taking Tejas from Spain, he encouraged Burr after he left office to raise an army to invade Tejas. Wilkinson promised that he would join Burr when the time was right. Burr took Wilkinson's advice and started down the Mississippi.

But, meanwhile, Wilkinson was in trouble. Both Spanish officials and U.S. politicians were getting nosey. If his dealings with Spain were revealed, he would surely be shot. The slippery general came up with a new trick. Revealing Aaron Burr as a traitor, he had the U.S. pay him to track Burr down and then also received gold from Spain for sending them details of the plot.

Finally, in 1806, before quitting Louisiana and journeying to Burr's trial, Wilkinson held a conference with General Herrera of Tejas in order to settle the border situation. Although Wilkinson had no authority, he agreed to establish a neutral zone between the Sabine and Red Rivers. The U.S. upheld his decision and he retired from service peacefully, hailed as a hero.

Augustus Magee

The Neutral Ground, as it was called, proved to be trouble as it was the home of a swarm of smugglers, murderers, and thieves that immediately gathered there. After six years of problems, the U.S. sent Lieutenant Augustus Magee to clean up the area.

Magee quickly broke up the bandit gangs. Then he, like others before him, stared across the Sabine, dreaming of empire.

By this time the revolution in New Spain had failed, Spain had killed Hidalgo and crushed his followers, and many defeated Republicans had fled to the Neutral Ground. Magee met some of these idealistic revolutionaries, among them a guerrilla fighter named Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara. Gutiérrez convinced Magee that the Spanish government in Tejas was corrupt and ripe for picking. Magee quit the U.S. army and joined Gutiérrez in a plan to invade Tejas. The two raised a remarkable army, numbering 800. In 1812 this strange combination of Anglos believing Tejas belonged to the United States, Mexican revolutionaries fighting to make Tejas a republic, and various Indians and adventurers crossed the Sabine.

The Spanish government in Tejas at this time was very weak, and the Magee-Gutiérrez army was able to fight its way from Nacogdoches, through Bahía, to San Antonio. Magee died in the meantime and Samuel Kemper took command of the so-called American Volunteers. In March of 1813 the Kemper-Gutierrez Ejêrcito del Norte marched into San Antonio, "took possession of all treasurers, rewarded all soldiers, and released all prisoners found in San Antonio."

The victory was enormous. All Spanish forces in Tejas were destroyed, and the Mexican population was coming over to the Republican cause. The excited American Volunteers on April 6, 1813, issued a "Declaration of Independence of Texas" and discussed the possibility of Tejas joining the United States.

Now, however, there was trouble. Gutiérrez and his group of Mexican political leaders demanded full control as the Anglos were on Mexican soil. Then the Mexicans drew up their own Texas constitution. The Anglo-Americans were particularly upset with the clause in the constitution which read, "The State of Tejas forms a part of the Mexican Republic, to which it remains inviably joined." This and a bloody execution in which all those loyal to the Spanish had their throats cut caused the majority of the Anglos including Kemper to return disappointed and disgusted to Louisiana.

A man named Henry Perry took Kemper's place, and a Spaniard, Josê Alvarez de Toledo, replaced Gutiérrez. Most of the Anglos left in Tejas were worthless cut-throats, and the Spanish were idealistic, but poorly organized. It was this ill-prepared band which met a Spanish army under General Joaquin de Arredondo sent from Mexico at the Medina River in June 1813. El Ejêrcito del Norte was easily out-smarted and slaughtered by the superior Spanish Army. Only 93 out of 850 escaped into the woods. Colonel Perry was one who got away.

The battle at the Medina destroyed the Republican cause in Tejas. The Spanish commander Arredondo was an experienced soldier, and followed up his victory with the pledge to stamp out rebellion forever.

In San Antonio, the rebel capital, Arredondo arrested 300 Mexican townsmen and shot them without trial. About 500 wives and daughters were rounded up and put to work for the

Spanish army. Arredondo chased refugees from San Antonio as far as the Trinity River and returned with a large number of women and children captives on foot. The property of the suspected Republicans was confiscated. The Anglo Saxon Republican supporters were merely deported but no native rebel received such mercy. Outside of San Antonio, Tejas was practically depopulated by the purge and San Antonio was reduced to the population of twenty years before.

A few Republicans were able to survive on Galveston Island. There the former Spanish general, Herrera, and the Anglo Colonel Perry organized a miniature "Republic of Mexico" and chartered a few ships to sail against the Spanish as filibusters. At first the "Republic" was successful and a few rich Spanish ships were taken. However, Perry and Herrera made the fatal mistake of attacking other than Spanish ships and the U.S. Navy sent them scuttling down the coast to South America.

Jean Lafitte and Dr. James Long

Perry was not the last of the filubusters. He and Herrera acted as an inspiration to the famous pirate Jean Lafitte who followed them to Galveston Island where he, too, founded a "Republic of Mexico." There he lived for four years pirateering and accepting new Mexican citizens.

A man named Dr. James Long also followed the example of earlier filibusters. He, like Magee before him, organized an expedition to invade Tejas and establish a Republic. Dr. Long, his young wife, baby, and 80 men attacked and easily took the almost deserted town, Nacogdoches, in 1819. There Long declared Tejas a free and independent republic and appointed himself as president. Soon defeated by the Spanish, he returned again from New Orleans by sea and built a fort at Port Bolivar. The Spanish, however, quickly surrounded Long and his men: Long was captured and shot and his family sent to Louisiana. Years later Mrs. Long returned to Tejas and settled at Richmond where she died in 1880 honored as one of Texas' original Anglo pioneers.

The continuing tension between American and Spanish governments grew worse because of this long line of United States filibusters. Although the United States swore she could not stop the filibustering, she still claimed Tejas and certainly made little effort to control her citizens. Finally, after years of argument, both governments reached an agreement. The United States bought Florida and gave up all claims to Tejas. This treaty was signed in 1819 but the American Southwest protested loud and long. President Madison ordered American citizens not to enter Tejas. Then, potential filibusters were further discouraged when Mexico declared its independence from Spain, and, hence, destroyed the supposed reason for filibustering. The Spanish enemy was exiled from American shores and Mexico had gained her independence.

The warlike filibusters and the Mexican revolution of 1810 had a disastrous effect upon Tejas. Most of the Spanish progress of earlier centuries was destroyed. General Arredondo killed or exiled one thousand people or about one-third of the Texas Spanish population.[10] After Long's filibuster, Spanish officers drove away more settlers. Many farms around San Antonio and in East Tejas went to waste. Travelers crossing Spanish Tejas often starved to death and even at San Antonio food was scarce. The great problem was underpopulation. There were 30,000 Indians in the province but less than 4,000 Europeans, when the age of the filibusters ended.

N O T E S

[1] T. R. Fehrenbach, Lone Star (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 87.

[2] Ibid., p. 88.

[3] Ibid., p. 89.

[4] Ibid., p. 90.

[5] Ibid., p. 94.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 108.

[8] Ibid., p. 116.

[9] Ibid., p. 117.

[10] Ibid., p. 126.

CHAPTER VI

THE EMPRESARIOS

The Texas filibusters captured the imagination of many on the southwestern frontier. The survivors of the expeditions spread their tales, which no doubt grew bigger in the telling, of Anglo heroism, Spanish cruelty, battles won and lost, and chests of silver coins. The tiny, struggling Spanish towns were pictured as cities rich in gold and lovely dark-eyed women. The soil was said to be much more fertile than that of the U.S. and the climate the best in the world. Once again the image of a fabulous empire, of broad plains where a man could see for miles, of exotic Indians and of millions [illegible] cattle was born. This was a country in which a man could become a king. In these years a lasting legend was created.[1]

But in the year 1820 the age of expansion seemed to be over. President Monroe, as well as the northern and eastern states, opposed any new expansion. The question of slavery was beginning to be a problem and the non-slave states in the Union wanted no more slave states. But Anglos were still moving west as individuals and the story of Anglo Tejas was only a result of a process that had begun centuries before in Scotland.

The Empresarios Austin

One of the Anglos who had immigrated to the Louisiana territory when it was under Spanish rule was Moses Austin, an ambitious man with a good sense of diplomacy. Austin did very well under first the Spanish and then the Anglo government. Eventually, he became one of the founders of the Bank of St. Louis. At this time all of the frontier was land hungry and the West was filled with land speculators. The entire western economy was based on land, and when land values fell the economy crashed and all banks closed. Moses Austin at age 54 found himself where he had started twenty years before.

It was perfectly natural that a dream grew in him that once again he could make his fortune by following the Spanish frontier. Hence, he set out alone in the fall of 1820 and rode the 800 miles to San Antonio de Bexar.

He entered a town which still remembered Anglo-Saxon filibusters too well. General Arredondo, the military officer in charge of the province, had made it perfectly clear to Tejas Governor Martînez that no Norte-americanos were to be allowed to enter Tejas for any reason. Thus, Austin's arrival at the governor's palace caused any thing but official delight. Martînez refused even to look at Austin's papers proving him a Spanish citizen and ordered him out of San Antonio before nightfall.

As Austin left the palace, discouraged and disappointed, one of those accidents that change history occurred. He met an old friend he had known in Louisiana, Felip Enrique Neri, Baron de Bastrop. Bastrop was not only a friend of the Governor's, but also a friend of Arredondo's. Within a week Bastrop had smoothed the path into official circles and by January of 1821 Austin had Arredondo's permission to settle 300 families in Tejas.

With the help of Bastrop's diplomacy, Arredondo had become convinced of two things. A band of Anglo colonists in Tejas might help protect the Spanish settlements against Indians, and the right kind of Anglos, loyal to Spain and interested in their land, might prevent future filibusters. On these two ideas, at least, he was right.

Austin returned to Missouri only in time to die. He begged his son Stephen to carry on when he was gone.

The First Anglo Settlement

Stephen F. Austin needed no urging. While the Spanish encouraged and rewarded colonization, the unsettled lands in the United States were sold strictly for profit. Stephen Austin saw that a man without money, but with an official grant, had a much better chance to succeed in Spanish territory than in that of the U.S.

Governor Martînez liked Austin and offered him time to explore the country and choose a site for his colony. During the summer of 1821 Austin, accompanied by two Mexican Tejanos, Erasmo Seguin and Martîn de Veramendi, wandered all over Tejas. The best region Austin found lay between the Colorado and the Brazos. These rich river bottoms had plenty of rainfall, a way to the Gulf, and were perfect for a plantation economy. The site also lay outside of dangerous Indian country.

When Austin returned again to Louisiana to advertise for settlers, he found around one hundred letters already awaiting him at Natchitoches. The word was out. Land and Tejas for no more than the price of Spanish citizenship.

When in the fall of 1821 Austin went back to Tejas he found his first applicants already there waiting for him.

They had established a small settlement with a ferry to cross the Brazos. Their settlement they called Washington-on-the-Brazos.

Each colonist took an oath of loyalty to Spain. In return for this oath he received quantities of land unheard of in the United States. The rich river bottoms along the Brazos, the Colorado, and the Bernard from what is today Grenham, Navasota and La Grange to the Gulf were generously passed out to the Anglos. Each family interested in farming received one labor, or 177 acres. Each family planning to raise stock received one legua or 4,428 acres. Of course, although this was plantation land and these men were southern planters, interested only in farming, all said they were going to ranch. Also, since men received only one-third as much as a family, bachelors joined up in twos and posed as a family. Men who planned improvements on their land received extra leguas. Austin himself received twenty-two leguas.[a]

The colony during its first year was plagued by drought and Indian attacks. But the weather improved, Austin was able to drive some of the Indians away and make treaties with others, and the little colony prospered.

The colony was of course under all laws of Mexico, but Anglo settlements really lay outside Mexican Tejas. They were on empty ground hundreds of miles from the nearest Spanish town or fort. Lack of money and good roads made trade with San Antonio hard, so the colonists looked back toward the U.S. for trade.

In 1824 Tejas became a part of the state of Coahuila and Austin's colony an official municipality or country with its capital at San Felipe de Austin. In this system the empresario Austin had tremendous powers. He was a little dictator. Since the colony was excused from all taxes and was created to defend Northern Mexico and itself at its own expense, in its first years official Mexico had little interest in it. Austin was warned to govern, defend himself, and not to let his colony be a bother.

Austin's real job was to stand between the Mexican government and his Anglo-Saxon planters. This was no easy task as the Mexican government was far away and his settlers were prejudiced, stubborn, ignorant of the real situation and jealous of what they believed were their rights. Austin, however, was a politician of great skill. His one goal was to develop and increase his colony. Hence, he was able to deal with a long line of Mexican governments peacefully as he had no personal political goals beyond growth of his colony.[3] His Mexican friends wondered at his joy in the destruction of the wilderness. Each crashing tree on the Brazos made Austin happy. In this, Austin was not unusual. The North Americans were already crazy to destroy nature and create their own civilization. Austin merely had more ability than most.

In all, there were twenty-six empresarios in Anglo Tejas. Austin was the greatest because he saw his role as something more than selling land. Don Esteban, as he was called, was not a frontier hero. He was a gentleman and got along especially well with the Mexicans. He was really the creator of Anglo Tejas but he was not to be the Texans' greatest hero because he was not a soldier. He hated conflict and preferred to save his people by ways more clever than war.

Austin never married. He devoted his life to his cause. After his first 300 grants were used up, he got more. His colony was gradually enlarged. In one decade, Austin settled more than 1,500 Anglos. These were energetic and prolific people. Unlike the Spanish missionaries and settlers before them, they had no intention of returning to their homes. They had come to Tejas for good, not to seek fame and fortune, and then to return home. They chopped wood, planted crops, built towns and had children with amazing energy, increasing Anglo population and influence in Tejas rapidly. This was all occurring at a time when the Mexican population in Tejas had been sharply reduced.

The laws permitting Austin to come to Tejas at first applied only to him. But in 1824, the Republic of Mexico issued a general colonization law. The Constitution of 1824 was a federalist one and very different from the Spanish centralist tradition. The Spanish provinces became states like those in the U.S. Coahuila and Tejas were combined into one state with the capital at Saltillo and the Mexican government promised that Tejas would be a state when its population was large enough. The Mexican idea at this time was definitely to grant the northern colony much independence within the larger Mexican nation.

The Colonization Act brought an explosion of empresarios and immigrants. Twenty-five empresarios were given colonies but few of these had lasting effects. Next to Austin in importance was Green De Witt who settled about 400 families in the area around Gonzales.

All the immigrants in this period did not come at the invitation of the Mexican government. Even before Moses Austin rode to San Antonio a trickle of English-speakers were wandering across the Sabine. These were part of the grim, tough, pioneering race always moving on. They came out of the mountains with their hatchets and rifles, and wandered through the Piney Woods until they came to the forest's end. These men wanted nothing to do with empresarios or law.

By 1825, then, both planter and frontiersman were firmly settled in Mexican Tejas. Each would build his own culture, live and die, leaving his children and his legends. The Cotton kingdom had joined the Cattle kingdom and the combination of Old South and Old Frontier which would influence so much history was firmly planted.[4]

After a decade of empresarios there were 20,000 Anglos with their slaves in Tejas. They outnumbered the Spanish-speaking population five to one. The principal problem of Don Esteban became, not to build settlements, but to stand between the Mexican government to which he was loyal and a swarm of his own race who were rapidly building Mexican Tejas in the Anglo image. Austin saw good in both worlds and was loyal to both sides. But a deep clash of the cultures had begun which Austin had never imagined and which proved to be too big for even his powers and good will.

NOTES

[1] T.R. Fehrenbach, Lone Star (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 132.

[2] Ibid., p. 140

[3] Ibid., p. 145

[4] Ibid., p. 151

CHAPTER VII

THE TEXAS REVOLUTION

The Racial and Political Background

In spite of the peaceful efforts of the able and diplomatic Austin, and equally well-intentioned Mexican officials, the stormy Tejas empire, long the battlefield of Indian against Indian, Indian against Spaniard, and Spaniard against Frenchman, was to once again be the scene of bloody cultural clash. The basic cause of this conflict was the difference in the background of the two groups who had by the year 1830 come to live side by side on Mexican soil.

On the one side was the Anglo-American immigrant, blunt, independent, efficient, a rebel against authority, a real individualist. On the other side was the Latin American master of the soil, sensitive, secretive, gently and indirect in his ways, a worshipper of tradition, and a man who respected authority.[1] If the situation had been reversed, if the Anglo had been in power, such racial traits would surely have insured peace. But the Mexican, an enforcer and admirer of authority and tradition governed a race which had turned its back on the past and refused to accept any other way of life but its own. Revolution was sure to occur.

A deep racial bitterness and resentment developed at the very beginning of the Anglo colonial era. One reason for the steady rise in racial tensions was that neither group was able to know the other well. The major Mexican settlements in South Tejas and the Anglo settlements in central and east Tejas were separated by miles of unpopulated land tamed by neither farm nor road. The number of Anglos who were able to live close enough to the Mexicans to develop friendship and respect were few and the opportunities of the Mexicans to know the Anglos were even less.

Even Stephen F. Austin, one of the few men able to understand both cultures wrote of Mexico City, "The people are bigoted and superstitious to an extreme."[2] If Austin stumbled in his efforts to understand the Mexican people, what could be expected of the average Anglo in Tejas?

The racial dislike was by no means one-sided. The diary of Lieutenant Jose Marîa Sânchez, a Mexican military officer who visited Austin's colony, points to the richest man in the colony as typical of the Anglo. The man, well-named Groce, did not even invite Sanchez and his assistants into his home for the night. They slept outside on the ground.[3] In general, Mexicans described the Anglo colonists as cold, industrious and aggressive.

The political habits of the two cultures were entirely different too. In 1821, after three hundred years of serving the Spanish king, Mexico gained its national independence. Mexico was poorly prepared for self-government. The Spanish colonial government had been directed almost entirely by Spaniards who were either executed or fled back to Spain. The native-born Mexicans, having had no practice in government, were left with a tremendous empire, underpopulated, poverty-stricken, and torn by war.

In spite of this, in spite of having no experience in politics, the Mexicans, after several false starts, established in 1823 the most complex form of government known to man. Copying the constitution of the United States they placed Mexico under a democratic system in which the country was divided into many states. The term of the idealistic democrats, however, was to be brief and violent. Eight years saw six presidents while the Anglo colonists watched the confusion in impatient disgust. Throughout the nation's vast country local officials received the news of the new democratic way of life, shrugged, failing to understand it, and returned to the old, proven method of authoritarian rule.

The Anglo who came to Tejas, on the other hand, brought with him a strong democratic tradition. Not only had he early been trained in self-government, but years of living on one frontier after another had increased his self-confidence and self-reliance. In addition he had developed a belief that the United States and Anglos were the best. All foreigners were inferior. One Mexican wrote of the Anglos that they carried their constitution in their pockets. He meant they demanded what they considered to be their rights at all times, wherever they were. To them their own ideas of democracy, not those of their government, were just and right.

Thus, the Anglo colonist and the native Mexican soon discovered that the same words could have very different meanings depending on the traditions and training of those who spoke them. Democracy, justice and Christianity were at first thought to be ideals which both cultures respected. But they later became the cries of revolution because of the different definition put on them by the Anglo colonists and their Mexican rulers in Tejas.[4]

Over and over again the political ideas of the Anglos clashed with the political practices of the Mexicans. The colonists took up the practice of holding popular conventions in which they drew up demands and presented them directly to the central government, ignoring the traditional chain of command. To the Mexican authorities this was practically treason. Though the colonists did suffer some real injustices, they were guilty of refusing to accept any of the traditions of their adopted land.

Mexican Distrust

As we know, the Mexican government, in an attempt to populate her empty northern province, threw the doors wide open to unchecked Anglo colonization in 1824. However, having inherited a certain distrust of the Anglo from the Spanish, and being continuously requested by the United States to sell Tejas, she began to fear for the safety of Tejas.

First of all, there was still much opposition in the United States to the terms of the Florida Treaty. Many still believed that Tejas belonged to the United States. In fact, General Andrew Jackson declared in the presence of the Mexican ambassador that the United States ought never to have lost the opportunity to obtain Tejas and that the best way to obtain a territory was first to occupy it and then seize it.[5] Another ambassador reported that the Anglos were so arrogant as to believe that Washington would one day be the capitol of all the Americas.

Poinsett Fails

United States ambassadors were not making a much better impression of themselves in Mexico. President Clay appointed Joel R. Poinsett as the first minister to Mexico with instructions to try to have the Tejas boundary moved from the Sabine to the Brazos, the Colorado, or the Rio Grande. As well as having a duty very distasteful to the Mexicans, Poinsett found his popularity further decreased by the efforts of the British minister H. G. Ward.

Ward was a favorite diplomat in the Mexican capitol and used every trick to embarrass Poinsett and put the United States in a bad light. He was working under orders of his government to limit farther U.S. growth and was very successful. As well as almost completely ruining Poinsett's reputation with the Mexican government by the use of anonymous letters and nasty rumors, Ward convinced President Victoria to appoint

General Mier y Terân, an officer deeply anti-Anglo, to make an inspection of Tejas. This inspection was to later prove disastrous to Anglo-Mexican relations.

Despite his poor success, Poinsett continued to pursue his mission, at one time even offering to buy Tejas for one million dollars. Poinsett's efforts and Ward's counter-efforts further encouraged Mexican distrust of the Anglos and increased its worry for the safety of Tejas.

Although Poinsett failed in his mission and damaged U.S.-Mexico relations, Andrew Jackson, upon becoming President of the United States, decided to try again for a bite of Tejas. He appointed Colonel Anthony Butler, an officer of questionable honesty, as minister to Mexico. Jackson's strong belief that Tejas belonged to the United States plus Butler's underhanded activities annoyed Mexico and strengthened the Mexican belief that Jackson intended to have Tejas by fair means or foul.[6]

Anthony Butler in Mexico

The full tale of Butler's misdeeds has never been written, but we do know of some of his exploits. He tried to bribe Mexican officials, and suggested to Jackson that the United States make a large loan to Mexico and then take Tejas when Mexico could not repay the loan. He even begged Jackson to take over the land between the Neches and the Sabine and make him governor of it. Jackson vetoed all of his ideas, but the Mexican government naturally assumed that Jackson approved, if not encouraged, Butler's methods. Hence, from 1825 to 1835, the period of greatest activity in Anglo colonization of Tejas, Mexican worries for the safety of Tejas were never allowed to cease.

The Fredonian Rebellion

The first real reason for Mexican worry caused by the colonists was the Fredonian rebellion toward the end of 1826. An Anglo empresario, Haden Edwards, after a series of arguments with Mexican landowners over the boundaries of his grant, was expelled from Tejas. Hot-headed and angry over losing his grants, Edwards fanned his settlers and a group of Cherokees into beginning a rebellion. Austin and his colonists opposed the conflict and even organized a militia to join the Mexican army against Edwards. The rebellion collapsed, Edwards and his followers fled into Louisiana, but the damage was done.

Although Austin's colonists declared their loyalty loudly, Mexico wondered if they were not covering other plots with over-enthusiasm. Also, at this same time the United States was trying again and again to set new Tejas boundaries. "Aha!" said Mexican suspicion. "Revolt on the border followed rejection of the first boundary proposal. Now here is the United States again to see if Mexico has learned her lesson. Austin's colonists may be loyal but let's put a garrison of soldiers in Tejas to make sure." So Colonel **Piedras and** two hundred men arrived in Nacogdoches in June 1827. This was the first time Mexican soldiers had been sent to the Anglo settlements in Tejas.

The Law of April 6, 1830

At the same time an important change in Mexican policy toward Tejas was taking place under the direction of General Terán. The change was the result of Terán's inspection of Tejas and was written in the Law of April 6, 1830. On the whole, it was a very practical and professional plan for balancing out the over-population of Anglos in Tejas and for bringing that distant province into closer relation with the rest of Mexico.[7] Briefly, it included four features: (1) Setting up military posts in Tejas; (2) Colonization by Mexicans and Europeans; (3) The development of more trade between Mexico and Tejas; (4) prohibition of any more Anglo immigration.

Actually only one of the four aims of the law was completely carried out. That was the plan of establishing military bases in Tejas. Terán strengthened the garrisons at San Antonio, Goliad, and Nacogdoches and established new posts at Anahuac, at Velasco on the mouth of the Brazos, and at Lyantitlan on the mouth of the Nueces. These presidios surrounded the settlements and guarded all approaches to them. They were a constant annoyance to the Anglo colonists and were to be asource of later conflict between the two peoples.

In the end Austin and Dewitt were permitted to accept more colonists and the door remained open to immigrants from the United States. Meanwhile, no Europeans came to Tejas and it was impossible to convince Mexicans to migrate to Tejas. Even the jails were combed in vain for volunteers. Terán saw Tejas increasingly anglicized and his carefully constructed plan failing. Convinced that Tejas, the state he had come to love, was lost to Mexico, he committed suicide at the beginning of the Tejas outbreak. This was a great loss to Tejas as Terán and Austin were the only two men in Tejas who understood both the Mexican and Anglo culture well.

Tejas remained, therefore, chiefly Anglo in population and civilization, with neither social nor economic ties binding the colonists to the rest of Mexico. It was natural that political ties should now and then anger the colonists. Their efforts to win reform plus the efforts of the United States to obtain Tejas strengthened the worries of the Mexicans and increased their determination to hold the province. Mexico's closer supervision of Tejas brought more petitions for reform and more resentment among the Anglo colonists. Thus, the endless circle of cause and effect began to turn. Only mutual understanding and trust could slow its speed and the means for attaining trust and understanding were lacking.

Anglo Complaint

Though the Texans later made loud protests in the name of freedom, they entered into one of their stongest disputes with the Mexicans in defense of Black slavery. The Mexican government never was in favor of the system of slavery brought into Tejas by the Anglos and the liberal government of 1823 took advantage of the new constitution to abolish forever Black slavery in the Republic.

Anglos Demand Slaves

This presented a problem to the Anglos. Every man possessed more land than he could work himself and wanted slaves to develop his land. To exclude slavery, he felt, was to harm the one industry, cotton production, that could speed the growth of Tejas and increase the value of his property. Even Stephen F. Austin stated that Tejas must be a slave state.*

It was the Mexican officials at San Antonio, however not the angry Anglos, that ended this problem. Sympathetic to Austin and his colonists, the Mexican governor used his influence to have Tejas excluded from a series of emancipation proclamations first in 1827 and then later in 1829 and 1830. Anglo fear, however, did not completely die. The continued threats of emancipation kept up a state of worry and resentment among the colonists. There is little doubt that when a plantation owner in Tejas thought of the joys of an independent Tejas, he thought more of the keeping of slave labor than of the high democratic ideals that he proclaimed to the world.

Anglos Want Religious Freedom

Another source of aggravation to the Anglo colonists was the restriction of religious freedom. Although the colonists were not required to join the Catholic Church, they were not allowed to organize Protestant chruches. When Austin's first colonists arrived they had clearly understood this law and had quickly chosen economic opportunity over religious freedom. As a result religious life was practically non-existant during the first decade of Anglo colonization, and it is doubtful that the situation caused the colonists any worry.[9] A priest arrived occasionally to marry all couples living together and to baptize any new babies, and that was all the religion the colonists seemed to want.

New settlers arrived, however, who had no direct dealings with Mexican authorities. They were not impressed with the necessity of obeying Mexican law and many of them made no attempt to adjust to Mexican custom. At this time the western United States was experiencing an intense religious enthusiasm led by the Baptists and Methodists. These new settlers, shocked by the lack of churches in Tejas, developed a real missionary zeal, and brought their Protestant revival meetings to the province. The meetings, openly disobeying Mexican law, both caused Anglo resentment against religious restrictions and angered Mexican officials. Later Austin was to use the lack of religious freedom in Tejas to gain U.S. support for the Tejas cause. Actually, though, this was not a major cause of clash. It only served to further irritate already rebellious Anglos and to win sympathy and support from the United States.

Judicial System Inadequate

A complaint much more annoying than the status of religion was the failure of the state legislature of Coahuila to give Tejas an adequate judicial system. The state constitution provided vaguely for a judicial system but aside from allowing local officials to decide small cases and establishing a supreme court at Saltillo, nothing had been done to organize this branch of government. Thus the settlers, far from Saltillo and Mexican law, were forced to preserve order or to settle questions of property rights in their own fashion. When Mexicans sarcastically described the custom of giving criminals a coat of tar and feathers and running them out of town, they failed to understand that this was merely the settlers' method of giving speedy punishment instead of carrying on a long trial in the state courts which were hundreds of miles away.

Finally, in 1827 state judicial law was established but it did not touch on the subject of jury trial, as the colonists had requested, nor did it enlarge the system of courts. In fact, where before the colonists had at least been free to handle their own disputes, the new law left the Texans almost without any judicial system in important civil and criminal cases.

In serious cases the first trial was held by the mayor who sent a report of all the evidence to Saltillo and awaited his advice concerning the penalty. When this advice arrived, the mayor then passed judgment and again sent all the documents to Saltillo to be okayed by the Supreme Court. This system caused enormous delay and problems for the colonists. These journeys usually took from six to eight months, and in the meantime, the prisoner had to be kept locked up. This was both unfair to the prisoner and difficult for the settlement as there were no jails in the Anglo colonies.

Thus, the Anglo colonists by the opening of 1830 had three major criticisms of their Mexican rulers. They resented the denial by Mexico of religious toleration. They were violently against the proposal of the government to prohibit alvery in Texas. And they compalined bitterly about the lack of an effective judicial system.

The first two complaints, denial of religious toleration and the restrictions on slavery were a source of continued irritation but the problems caused by them were not serious enough to cause revolution. Much more aggravating was the inadequate judiciary system. New legislation in 1834 would correct this problem but would not undo its damaging effect. Scars would remain.

In 1830, therefore, we have a land plagued by sleeping devils. Two cultures, basically different in personal and political habit, are living side by side but do not have the opportunity to know and understand one another. The Mexican government is being repeatedly bothered by the United States which has its eye on Tejas, and Mexico, naturally, transfers her distrust of the United States to all Anglos living in Tejas. The Anglo colonists, on the other hand, disappointed in an inefficient and authoritarian government are seeking reform. None of these factors alone are sufficiently critical to lead to war. What then caused them to unite and ignite the spark that exploded into the Tejas revolution?

Events Leading to the Revolution

The Law of April 6, 1830, was a turning point in the relations of the Anglo colonists and the Mexican government. On the one side, its passage marked the climax of the government's slowly forming decision that the policy of allowing unchecked immigration from the United States was a mistake. On the other side, it gave the colonists their first serious shock and shook their confidence that Tejas could develop well under Mexican rule.

The first threat of the law to the peace of the colonists lay in the military measures taken to enforce it. During the summer of 1830, as we have already seen, General Terân encircled the settlemens with a ring of presidios. The object of these forts was to prevent illegal immigration from the United States, to prevent smuggling, and to begin Terân's policy of Mexican colonization. Of course, the mere presence of the troops caused anger among the colonists. Terân was aware of possible problems and, thus, carefully instructed his commanders in maintaining friendly relations with the Anglo colonists.

Bradburn Angers Colonists

However, it was an Anglo and not a Mexican who caused the first conflict over the presidios. The Mexican officers in Tejas seem to have been, to the man, skillful diplomats and the colonists respected and liked them.[10] Unfortunately, however, the presidio at Anahuac, on Galveston Bay, was commanded by an American, Colonel John Davis Bradburn. Perhaps because he was an Anglo, dealing with his own race, Bradburn was less careful than the Mexican officers. Whatever the reason, Bradburn was puffed up with his own authority, and he was dictatorial and domineering.

A mass of misdeeds have been charged to Bradburn but certain ones stand out. He arrested the Mexican land commissioner Madero in order to prevent him from legalizing Anglo land titles and sent him back to Mexico, thereby infuriating Anglo squatters. He annulled the local government set up by Madero at Liberty. He stole supplies from the colonists for his garrison and used slave labor for building the fort without paying the masters of the slaves. He encouraged revolt among the slaves. Finally, he arrested several of the colonists on various charges and held them in the guardhouse for military trial.

The Turtle Bayou Resolutions

It was the arrests which brought the storm on Bradburn. Among those arrested on trumped-up charges were two popular and influential settlers, Patrick C. Jack and William B. Travis. The imprisonment of Travis and Jack was long and cruel, and on June 4 a force started from Brazoria to release them. On the way to Anahuac it grew to 160 men and many others among the settlers of East Tejas, who hated Bradburn were ready to join them. While waiting for two cannons from Brazoria, they adopted a declaration stating they were not rebelling against Mexico, but were simply joining the Liberal revolt that Santa Anna was leading at that time in Mexico. A few days after the adoption of the declaration, known as the Turtle Bayou Resolutions, Colonel Piedras moved from Nacogdoches with a large force to negotiate with the colonists. Colonel Piedras agreed to have the prisoners released, to pay for the property that Bradburn had stolen, and to have Bradburn removed from his command.

Thus, the result of this first confrontation between Anglo colonist and Mexican authority was a peaceful and encouraging one. Piedras, Ramon Musquiz, the political chief at

San Antonio, and General Terán all wrote to Mexico City explaining that the attack on Anahuac was no more than a demonstration against an unjust man and not an attack on the Mexican government.

Anglos Request Reforms

The colonists, elated by their victory, eager to join Santa Anna's liberal revolution, and hoping to profit from the principles it was supposed to represent, resorted to the traditional Anglo-American frontier practice of calling a convention to request reforms.

Representatives from every important community in Tejas except San Antonio, assembled at San Felipe in October 1832. Although San Antonio did not attend, the Mexican officials did send letters supporting the purposes of the convention and assured the Anglos that they were not in opposition to their cause but felt that the timing was wrong. The Anglos, in turn, translated all proceedings of the convention into Spanish and sent them to San Antonio.

The convention adopted resolutions asking for the repeal of the ban on immigration, for a reduction of the tariff, for a better organization of local government, for permission to organize their own militia gainst Indian attack, and for the admission of Tejas to the Mexican Union as a state rather than a province. Stephen F. Austin, who had done more than any other man in Tejas to maintain peace, was chosen to carry the petitions to Mexico City, where Santa Anna had just won the presidency.

Austin Travels to Mexico City

Austin left Tejas full of confidence, but on his arrival at the capital, he found that Santa Anna was out fighting political enemies and had left in his place the acting president Gômez Farîas. The proposals which had looked so good in Tejas looked different to the Mexican authorities. In fact, the very method by which these proposals were presented, bypassing a whole chain of command, appeared to the Mexicans to be a sign of revolution. After six months of almost unceasing effort to show the honesty behind the requests of the Texans, Austin was informed that the law prohibiting immigration from the U.S. had been repealed, that the request for statehood had been denied, and that the other requests had been sent to the authorities of the state of Coahuila with a recommendation that they be granted.

Austin Arrested

Believing that he had accomplished all that he could, Austin began his journey home in December only to be arrested at Saltillo for a letter he had written to the San Antonio officials three months before. He was taken back to the capital where he was held for eighteen months.

News of Austin's arrest did not distrub the calm now prevailing in Tejas mainly because it arrived in the same mail with a flood of letters from Austin advising peace. Austin's friends were used to following his advice and they followed it now. Others, Sam Houston among them, thought Austin had gotten himself into a mess and probably deserved what he got.

His arrest, however, was eventually a major factor in disturbing the province's calm. Without Austin in the lead both the Texans and the Mexicans were denied of the one man who might have found an agreeable solution to the emerging conflict. Certainly Tejas had not developed another with his power of leadership. It was during his absence, as new problems appeared on the Tejas plains and incompetent leaders tried to fill the saddle that the seeds were sown which were eventually to sprout into open revolt against Mexican rule.[11]

The Explosion of Hostilities

Looking at the situation in Tejas about the end of 1834 shows us that the various problems for which the Anglos were seeking reform were not really serious enough to cause revolt. The state government at Coahuila had provided for more Anglo representation in the Coahuilan Congress, had set up a new and effective judicial system for Tejas, and had granted several other requests of the Anglo colonists. Actually, these reforms were passed not because of hot-headed Yankee protest, but because the Mexican Tejanos in San Antonio had requested the same reforms in the proper manner, carefully working through the established system of command. So, the only serious cause for worry at this time was the fact that Austin was still a prisoner in Mexico City.

At first the Anglo Tejans faithfully followed the advice in Austin's frequent letters. But as his imprisonment lasted through 1834 and into the next year, his hold upon Tejas was weakened, and the way was opened for splinter groups under the influence of men who were irresponsible and power-hungry.

War Party Forms

Some of these groups began to join in a so-called war party under the leadership of William H. Wharton who was dead set against Austin's policy of compromise and peace. In no time Wharton's group included most of the dissatisfied who at one time or another had disagreed with Austin.

It was also during the absence of Austin, the one Anglo who both understood the Mexican and his language well, that confusion concerning the new land law passed by the Coahuilan state government spread over Tejas. Not understanding either the laws or the reasons behind them, the average Anglo saw what he believed was the beginning of deeply feared land speculation. He watched a few men buy land running into millions of acres, and saw what seemed to him an unnecessary waste of land. He failed to understand that these laws were actually the state's effort to protect him against a new threat from Mexico City.

Santa Anna Switches Sides

The liberal party in Mexico had attempted numerous reforms, and had threatened the power of both the army and the church. These influential interests were ready to fight back. Santa Anna, who had made a career of being in the right place at the right time, now found it more profitable to take the side of the powerful church and military. He declared himself dictator, dismissed the Congress, and abolished the Constitution of 1824. Violent opposition followed Santa Anna's illegal action all over Mexico, in Cuernavaca, Chiapas, Durango, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Nuevo León, Oaxaca, Puebla, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Sonora, Tamaulipas, Yucatán, Zacatecas, and Coahuila. Santa Anna himself, undertook crushing the rebellion in Zacatecas and sent his brother-in-law General Martín Perfecto de Cos to take care of Coahuila.

Thus the issue, which was now clearly drawn centered upon the protection or destruction of the state form of government established by the Constitution of 1824. To protect their state the officials at Coahuila needed a militia and, naturally, the money to equip it. As the state purse was empty, they turned to the sale of public lands on a large scale in order to obtain the necessary money. It was this action that made the Anglo Texans suspicious enough to misunderstand the real situation. We must remember that these were descendants of the Scotch-Irish borderers, men who by custom sought open, free land. When land became regulated by law, they immediately became restless, feeling themselves fenced in and their freedom to wander limited.

Misunderstanding Moves Tejas Toward War

Hence, when Governor Augustin Viesca of Coahuila appealed to the Texans for help against Cos, the stubborn settlers turned their backs thinking his call was a plot to further land speculation. Consequently they ignored the desperate struggle for freedom in Coahuila while Cos steadily advanced and the governor and legislature fled to Tejas to escape capture.

Cos took charge of Coahuila, and it was not long before the Anglos found they had been wrong. Naturally Cos turned his attention to Tejas as part of the rebellious state of Coahuila, and sent Colonel de Ugartechea to serve as military commander of Tejas with headquarters at San Antonio.

Ugartechea, determined to keep Tejas under control, again set up the forts surrounding the Anglo colonies which had been previously established by Terán. Although the majority of Texans wanted peace, the forts were a signal to them that Santa Anna indeed intended to deny state authority and the very pressure of soldiers was a threat to their fierce frontier independence.

Travis at Anahuac

The fort at Anahuac was once more to be the major source of irritation. It lay among a group of East Texas squatters who, in the first place, were in Tejas illegally, and, in the second place, had no intention of respecting Mexican law. A group of rabble rousers held a secret meeting and appointed William B. Travis to move against the Anahuac garrison. This he did and received the surrender of its entire force.

Travis, however, was hailed all over Tejas, not as a hero, but as a trouble maker. In settlement after settlement meetings were held in which he was publicly denounced. Even his own community of San Felipe invited the captured commander of Anahuac to be its honored guest in order to show him that the majority had not supported "the outrage against the supreme government."[13]

With the developments among the Anglo Texans thus swinging toward peace, any more hostility would obviously depend upon the reaction of the Mexican officials to the events which had already taken place. But, because of poor communication and the lack of cultural understanding which had plagued Tejas from the beginning, they hardly could have been expected to know this. The Anahuac attack seemed to them simply an expression of popular will.

Thus, Ugartechea decided that strong measures should be taken to preserve order in Tejas and announced that Cos was expected to arrive at San Antonio about the middle of September with the intention of attacking the Anglo settlements and arresting Travis and those involved in the Anahuac attack.

Austin Comes Home

The colonies, then, were in an uproar, bitterly divided between those who wanted to surrender the fugitives and preserve peace and those who preferred to fight the Mexican forces. At this point, on September 1, Stephen F. Austin arrived in Tejas from his imprisonment in Mexico. All elements turned to him for a solution of the problem.

Austin returned to Tejas a disillusioned man. He was sure after his stay in Mexico that the federal system was being destroyed and that Santa Anna could not be trusted. Therefore, the man who had always advised peace and compromise, in a public letter on September 19, advised the people that further attempts at "conciliatory measures with General Cos and the military at San Antonio are hopeless, and that nothing but ruin to Tejas can be expected from any such measures . . . War is our only resource."[14] At the same time, information arrived that Cos had landed at Copano and was demanding the surrender of all heavy arms and the Tejanos General Lorenzo de Zavala, Juan Zambrano and J. M. J. Carbajal. The Anglos refused to surrender guns or men, and Austin called for a group of volunteers to meet at the Colorado River and oppose Cos's advance.

With Texan volunteers gathering on the Colorado at the same time that Mexican troops were being landed at Copano, both sides at last realized that open battle could no longer be avoided. Neither side, however, understood the depth of the conflict they were facing. The immediate argument was the Mexican plan to use military force for the purpose of keeping order in Tejas while the Texans believed that they could maintain order for themselves. But the whole situation was complicated by the belief of the Texans that they were losing the rights given them by the Constitution of 1824. To them, the coming of Mexican troops meant that the federal system was being destroyed by military dictatorship.

On the Mexican side the mere matter of the type of government was less important than national pride. Mexican authority must not be attacked by a mob of angered ruffians. The Anglo Texans had in every instance ignored Mexican authority and must be taught to conform. The general issue, therefore, was that of deciding the relations between national authority and local authority. The actual situation was not unlike instances today when the National Guard is sent into an area to restore public order and insure national control.

But underlying this was the mutual feeling of racial distrust which had been so important throughout the colonial period. The Spanish had hated the English, and vice-versa since the Middle Ages, the Mexicans had been frightened by the imperialistic advances of the U.S., and finally, the uneducated Anglo settlers had been unable to understand the European-like culture of the Mexicans. Had the past relations of these two groups not been wrapped in this atmosphere, the Mexican authorities might not have thought it so necessary to show such force, or the Anglos might not have believed so firmly that cooperation would endanger their freedom.

Opening Shots Fired At Gonzales and Victoria

Centuries of cultural clash, however, had reached the point of explosion and on October 2, 1835, the first shot of the unfortunate conflict was fired at Gonzales. A Mexican force that had been sent to Gonzales to take a cannon used by the Anglos for Indian protection was attacked by the Tejas volunteers and forced to retreat. At the same time loyal Tejanos of Guadalupe Victoria refused to give up their cannon to a company of Cos's soldiers under Captain Manuel Sabriego. Austin issued a call for Texans and Tejanos alike to form the *División del Ejercito Federal de Tejas* and to join in a march on San Antonio to drive the military completely out of Tejas. More Texas volunteers, including practically all the Tejanos in Tejas, rallied to the cry and rushed to Gonzales where Austin assumed command of the disorganized force.

In the meantime Cos took advantage of the Anglo disorganization by marching on to San Antonio without interference. On October 12 Austin and his army began to pursue Cos, sure that "twenty days will be apt to close the military career of Cos in Tejas.[15]

But the experiences of the next three weeks brought disappointment. The looseness of the group made it hard to overcome the individualistic spirit of the men. When Austin tried to give orders he found himself having to promise each man that he would not interfere with his individual liberty. Since there was no regular enlistment, the men felt free to come and go at will, and they sometimes simply walked out in great gangs. Enough supplies were never available, and Austin complained that cannons were sent without ammunition and that, despite the lack of supplies, he was always having to fight to prevent reckless waste. After several useless suggestions that liquor was not needed, he finally excalimed, "In the name of Almighty God send no more ardent spirits to this camp--if any is on the road turn it back, or have the head knocked out."[16] When after nine days of confused travel this force reached Salado Creek, five miles outside of San Antonio it was more like a mob than an Army and the credit for keeping it together at all should go to Austin's patient stubborness. It was in no condition, however, to attack and thus settled down to a half-hearted seige of San Antonio while some of its men began to wish they had never left home.

Most of this confusion was because the Texans had jumped into military activities before they had set forth any plan of organization or goal of action.

Convention of 1834

Hence, with this object in mind representatives from the various settlements met at San Felipe on November 1, 1834.

The primary purpose was to decide whether they were fighting for independence or in defense of the Constitution of 1824. Many of those who had belonged to the way party were now supporting complete separation from Mexico. Austin's steady hand, though, won out and the delegates voted 33 to 15 to fight as loyal Mexican citizens to uphold the Federal Constitution of Mexico. The declaration which they wrote denied the right of Santa Anna to govern the Mexican republic and offered assistance to any and all Mexicans "who will take up arms against military despotism." Hoping that other Mexican states would help Tejas in its fight against a centralist government, the delegates translated the declaration into Spanish and sent it all over the Republic. Then they required every delegate and soldier to take an oath supporting the republican principles of the Constitution of Mexico of 1824.

Tejas Fails in its First Attempt at Self-Government

The accomplishments of the convention, however, ended here. Uneducated in politics, prejudiced in opinion, and jealous of authority, the delegates, after days of petty debate, organized a provisional government that was at first a farce and later brought disaster to Tejas.

After hastily throwing together an amateur and inadequate constitution, the convention made the further mistake of electing a member who wanted independence from Mexico, Henry Smith, as governor, and a group of men composed mainly of those loyal to Mexico, as the state's congress. Conflict was sure to follow. As well as disagreeing politically with his congress, Smith was hot-headed, power-thirsty, and uncooperative. He quarreled with the council on every subject. The usual pattern of law-making developed into adoption of a bill by the congress, its veto by the governor, and its passage over the governor's veto.[17] It is a true irony that men so critical of Mexico's attempt at self-government, could do no better themselves.

The most serious clash developed over the question of the army and its organization. Early in the convention the congress had begun to send supplies to the volunteer army in seige around San Antonio. They, then, created a regular army, provided for the means of enlistment, and appointed Sam Houston as its commander-in-chief. Rather than combining the two groups, however, as would seem logical, they decided that the volunteer army was an independent group not under the orders of the provisional government. Hence, the result was two armies, one on paper commanded by Sam Houston and one in the field led by Stephen F. Austin.

A bitter argument developed. Smith supported Houston and the congress supported Austin. While Austin was desperately trying to maintain a lengthy seige against San Antonio, Houston jealously demanded that all the volunteer army go home and let him choose his own force.

The First Battle at San Antonio

At this point the tide turned. Austin was called away to the United States on a mission for Tejas and, before he left, requested volunteers to attack the capital of Tejas. His little band grew to 250, including 30 Mexican riders from Victoria led by Plácido Benavides, and 22 San Antonio Tejanos under Juan Seguîn. With the help of another Mexican, Jesûs Cuellar, who deserted from the centralist side and guided the Texan forces into town, Austin and his army stormed the city. After five days of house-to-house fighting General Cos surrendered on December 11 and was allowed to take his army and leave Tejas.

The successful attack on San Antonio had been carried on almost entirely by Texan and Tejano volunteers. Within a few days after Cos's surrender most of these men left for their homes sure that the war was over. The council approved and Smith ordered Houston to take over the occupation of San Antonio. But the group which remained in San Antonio, consisting mainly of newly arrived volunteers from the United States, elected Frank W. Johnson as their commander and announced that they would not take orders from the regular army.

Victorious Tejano Army Overrun by U.S. Adventurers

Excited over a victory they had done very little to win, this force decided to pursue the centralist army, take control of Matamoros, near the mouth of the Rio Grande, and join the liberal Mexican faction in defense of the Constitution of 1824.

The congress eagerly approved this idea as little had been done to win the support of liberal Mexico for the Tejas cause. Up until this time Smith, who disliked all Mexicans, had vetoed every effort of the congress to carry out such plans. Thus, they in their uncontrolled enthusiasm appointed James W. Fannin to take command of the Matamoros expedition.

The Government Dissolves Itself

The argument which followed was long and bitter. Smith flew into a rage, called the congress into a special Sunday session, denounced them as Judases, scoundrels, and wolves, and promptly dissolved the body. The congress in turn, called Smith low, blackguardly, vindictive, and disgraceful, and quickly impeached him. Thus in one day, on January 10, 1835, the provisional government destroyed itself in senseless bickering and left Tejas for the next two months practically without a government.

The Military Deteriorates

The effect of this situation on the military was, of course, disastrous. As the plans for the Matamoros expedition continued, Fannin raised over 400 men, largely from the United States, and settled down in Goliad to await developments. Johnson established his headquarters at Refugio, with a force composed mostly of volunteers from the United States who had reached San Antonio in December. Houston went about making speeches to the volunteers encouraging them to desert, join him, and stay in Tejas. In the meantime, James Bowie and Travis got into a heated feud over who was to take charge of the troops at San Antonio. Thus the military was following rapidly down the path to ruin that had already been taken by the provisional government. Houston abandoned his efforts to recruit men for the regular army and went off to East Texas to fight Cherokees. The Matamoros expedition had been broken up, and any chance that it might have offered to gain help for Tejas from other Mexican liberals had been destroyed.

It was just at this moment of confusion that the long-threatened Mexican invasion swept in on the unprepared Texans. By the middle of February, a large Mexican army had crossed the

Rio Grande, commanded by Santa Anna himself. Santa Anna and the main force reached San Antonio on February 23, and began the seige of the Alamo. The right wing, under General José Urrera, advanced by way of Matamoros, surprised and destroyed Johnson's force at San Patricio and moved on toward Fannin at Goliad. In rapid succession came the fall of the Alamo on March 6, the occupation of Refugio by Urrea, on March 14, and the defeat and capture of Fannin's force on March 20, and the massacre of all prisoners, a week later.

The Alamo

Of these massacres, we know best the story of the tragic fall of Travis and his men at the Alamo. Unfortunately both for history's sake and the sake of our own cultural understanding, though, it is one of the most falsely told tales in our Texas heritage. Frontier legend, nineteenth century sentimentality, faulty research, and, worst of all, Texan pride, have filled the saga of the Alamo with myth and folklore.

Tall tales distort even the identities of and origins of the men who were there. Texans claim the defenders as their own, but actually, two-thirds were recent arrivals from the

United States, another fifteen percent were friendly Mexicans, and only half a dozen had been in Tejas as long as six years.

There are as many myths about the strength of the forces as there are about the makeup of the garrison. The accepted picture is of a tiny band of Texans against an army of Mexicans, but it is not that simple. The Texans may have numbered only about 180 men, but they had some big advantages. One was their gun power--21 cannons--the largest collection anywhere between New Orleans and Mexico City. Another was the old Kentucky rifle which could shoot accurately 200 yards. Another was their skill as frontier marksmen.

On the other hand, the Mexicans were weaker than often imagined. Far from the legendary 6,000, which tales tell us were present, Santa Anna only had 600 at the start of the seige. By the final attack the Mexicans totaled 1,800, but many of these were poor Mayan prisoners who did not even understand the Spanish language. Their muskets were completely out-classed--they could only shoot 70 yards--and most of the men did not know how to aim them. For artillery they had only eight cannons.[18]

All this is not to take away from the bravery and determination of the Texans, but it does help explain away another myth. Travis was not making a heroic, hopeless stand. He not only had definite advantages, but also expected help from the settlers up to the last. This fact makes it hard to believe that he would summon his men, tell them they were doomed, and draw a line to be crossed by all who were prepared to die with him. Yet this is the most cherished part of the Alamo epic.

This story, though, was not told by any of the survivors. It was a historian who was not present, William Zuber, who launched the tale thirty-seven years later in the Texas Almanac. Survivors of the Alamo, then, took up the tale but strangely enough each told it differently. Zuber, himself, later conceded that he had invented Travis's speech completely.

So to the final assault. As always in the murk and confusion of close combat, it is especially hard to know what really happened. Many tell of how Travis in his grief and shame bravely committed suicide. His slave, Joe, however, swore that he was shot down next to him by enemy gunfire. There is less controversy about Jim Bowie. Already wounded, he was shot in bed, but in what bed is the question. A wide variety of sources give six different choices. The favorite is a small room in the church, but we have good reason to believe that this room is cited only because it still stands and can be dramatically shown to tourists.[19]

A loyal Texan will listen to reason on Travis and Bowie, but Davy Crockett's death is another thing. Legend says he fell fighting like a tiger, and one is asking for trouble even to raise a question. But we wonder, and have wondered ever since that grim day in 1836, when news of the grizzly event reached New Orleans. Messengers told how seven of the victims had surrendered and been shot--among them Davy Crockett.[20]

And now on to the last glorious legend of that fateful fall in 1835. "But for this stand at the Alamo, Texas would have been desolated to the Sabine," declared Guy M. Bryan in a famous speech to the Texas House of Representatives. So this story, too, has come down to us, although it is hard to see why. Santa Anna's losses were far from large and the seige certainly did not upset the Mexican generals' timetable. The Alamo was certainly anything but a successful holding operation.

Did the Alamo fail to accomplish anything at all? No, it accomplished a great deal, but here again the reality of the matter is far removed from the myths. First of all, it made Houston's little army both mad and ashamed, and they became real fighting men. Second, and just as important, the tale of the Alamo captured the hearts of sympathetic Americans, and triggered a massive flow of U.S. aid that ensured the ultimate victory of Tejas. Up until this time, newspapers in the U.S. had praised Mexico, criticized the hot-headed Texans, and rooted for Mexico's victory.

An especailly interesting aspect of the Alamo and the other disaster is the fact that the destruction of these forces had little effect upon the condition of the regular army or the strength of the manpower of Tejas. As we know, the campaign against San Antonio had been carried on by Texan volunteers for the purpose of driving the Mexican troops out of their province and restoring the Constitution of 1824. When Cos had surrendered, for them this goal had been accomplished, so they returned to their homes, satisfied that so long as the Mexican government did not interfere in their affairs, there was no need for further violence.

Thus, the men who met the first impact of the new Mexican advance were adventurers, wanderers, trouble-makers, and romantics who had recently come from the United States. In fact, as far as we know, out of about 700 men killed in action or massacred in these disasters in the spring of 1836, less than one-fifth were residents of Texas.[21]

This fact goes far toward explaining the treatment of these men by Santa Anna and the Mexicans. Santa Anna was well aware of the interest the United States had in Tejas. As far as he was concerned, six hundred armed American soldiers in Tejas signaled a new Yankee filibustering expedition against Mexico, and, as such, the followers deserved to be treated as nothing more than pirates. Under international law this meant execution. It would be interesting, at this point, to wonder what would have happened if Santa Anna, instead of shooting his captives, had paroled them and sent them back to New Orleans. We cannot help but guess that these disillusioned volunteers would have returned to their homes full of sad stories of Texas confusion, mismanagement, and neglect, Tejas's standing with the United States would have fallen to a new low, and the next stage of the revolution would have lost badly needed American money and men. But since they were executed instead of paroled, this question can only be left to our imagination.

Constitutional Defense Becomes Revolution

So far as the Texans were concerned, however, one of the most important results of these events was the shift of the purpose on which the conflict rested. Up until this time, the Texans had not been fighting against Mexico itself, but to defend the Constitution of 1824 against the threats of Santa Anna's dictatorial plans. In other words, from their point of view, Santa Anna was the revolutionary. As long as there was a possibility of help from the liberals in other parts of the Mexican public, this position was possible. But Santa Anna's forces had stamped out the liberals in one state after another until only the Texans were left to be brought into line. It was now clear that the struggle for the federal constitution was a hopeless cause, and the Texans found themselves face to face with choosing between joining the new government in Mexico or adopting a new basis for their struggle. As is well known, they chose to declare their independence. But as their representatives met to make this decision, the Mexican army wiped out their entire defense and Santa Anna prepared for a triumphal attack on the settlements of Anglo Tejas. For the Texans, therefore, the war had now become a struggle for survival.

It is important at this point to understand that this was not essentially a conflict of Anglos against Mexicans. Texas was, as it is now, a land developed by two cultures and led by able, intelligent leaders of both Mexican and Anglo descent. In this conflict practically the entire Tejano population joined their Anglo neighbors in defending their mutual state against what they considered an unbearable denial of personal rights and privileges. The call to convene March 1 at Washington-on-the-Brazos for the purpose of declaring Texas independence was answered enthusiastically by Tejanos and Texans alike. The Declaration of Independence was signed by such Mexican leaders as Josê Antonio Navarro, Josê Francisco Ruîz, and Lorenzo de Zavala. In fact, these men were hailed as the only native Texans present. They assisted in drafting the first constitution of the Republic of Texas, and on March 12, 1836, helped elect David G. Burnet to the office of Ad-interim President, and their own Lorenzo de Zavala to the office of Vice President of the new Republic. Finally, this council of Tejanos and Texans, working together to create a new state, appointed Sam Houston Commander-in-Chief of all the land forces of Texas. When on March 6, Houston withdrew from the convention to assume his new military duties, Captain Juan Seguin, his lieutenants Antonio Menchaca, Ambrosio Rodriguez, and Manuel Flores, and 114 Tejanos joined him. It was one of these Tejanos who captured the messenger to Santa Anna, which determined definitely the whereabouts of Santa Anna and made victory possible.[22] These Tejanos, excellent horsemen to a man, were to later lead the calvary charge on the field of San Jacinto.

Houston Takes Command

General Houston followed by a few of his officers, having been promised undivided authority in command, rode to Gonzales where he joined an unorganized and undisciplined group of men whom he hoped to use as a nucleus for his army. But before he could make his plans, the news of the fall of the Alamo, and the surrender at Goliad forced him to begin the famous retreat which continued for six weeks gradually moving toward the coast, and finally coming to an end on the San Jacinto.

San Jacinto

Meanwhile the convention had provided for the enlistment of the militia, and Houston's army soon grew to about 1,200 men. But as the retreat continued, leaving the settlements defenseless before the Mexican advance, the stories of the Alamo and Goliad spread panic among the people and Tejas quickly became a giant moving mass of regugees, headed eastward toward the Sabine River and the safety of the United States. Many of the men in the army, becoming desperate, left to aid their fleeing families. The ad-interim government tried to stop the panic by sending out reassuring proclamations, only to have their efforts destroyed when they themselves had to flee, taking the government with them, to Galveston Island. It became bitter in its criticism of Houston's strategy, and tried to force him into battle. But Houston kept his plans so completely to himself that we do not know, even today, whether he had a definite plan or whether the meeting of the two armies at San Jacinto was pure accident. Of the results of the battle, however, there is not the smallest question. The Texans had ended six weeks of retreat with less than thirty minutes of actual fighting. The entire first wave of the Mexican army was either killed or captured, and among the prisoners was Santa Anna himself, who immediately ordered the rest of his army to withdraw to Victoria and San Antonio.

Texas Gains Independence

Although the battle of San Jacinto brought a quick end to war in Texas and an exhilarating victory to the Texans, the capture of Santa Anna brought up new problems which in the end almost wrecked the new government. The soldiers immediately formed a lynching party in true old west tradition. Houston, however, refused to turn him over to the army, and the government, believing that Santa Anna might be useful in bringing a permanent end to war, proceeded to discuss peace terms with him. These agreements between Santa Anna, Houston, and the government were written up in the Treaty of Velasco. The treaty provided that all Mexican forces evacuate Texas; that they release all prisoners and restore all private property that had been captured; that a treaty of friendship be made in which the territory of Tejas should not be extended beyond the Río Grande; and that the government of Texas send Santa Anna to

Vera Cruz, in order that he might arrange for an official recognition of Texas Independence.

The little frontier republic seemed well on its way to prosperity and peace. The proud and powerful president of the giant to the south had been roundly defeated, captured, and forced into recognizing Texas independence. The Texas soldiers packed up their muskets and went home. The era of conflict which had plagued the province for centuries, however, was not as of yet at an end. Old problems remained and independence brought new ones. The stubborn, independent Anglos had never developed a peacetime leader in Austin's absence and the province would be once again torn by petty power-seekers. Strong military authority challenged a weak civilian government, and, in addition, new adventurers arrived daily from the United States seeking their share of the spoils of a defeated nation.

Toward Political Stability

The appearance of these newcomers marked the beginning of a basic change in the Army which was to cause great difficulties for the provisional government in its efforts to secure stability for Texas. The nature of the change is shown by the records of the army during the summer of 1836. The rolls of the army record a total of 2,503 men, yet only 196 of these men were at the battle of San Jacinto. The other 2,307 had arrived in Texas from the United States after San Jacinto.[23]

These newcomers had been attracted by the dramatic and probably exaggerated stories of the Alamo and Goliad and by the promises of large land bounties. They had promised to get revenge and on reaching Texas they were not only disappointed that the fighting was over, but were also amazed that Santa Anna had not been hanged. In fact, a group of the officers, fanned by the personal fury of their Commander, Thomas Rusk, captured Santa Anna and threatened to execute him. A wide-spread dispute followed which rocked the new republic. At one point the army even tried to arrest Burnet and his cabinet, but alarmed citizens stopped them. Order was restored and Santa Anna sent back to Mexico, but Texas had been brought dangerously near just the sort of military dictatorship that the revolution had tried to stop.

Thus, President Burnet acted quickly to establish a strong civilian government, and called a September election to elect officers and ratify the constitution of the new government.

Stephen F. Austin and Henry Smith were immediately nominated for president and the campaign seemed to center on issues relating to the foundation of a republic. Suddenly, Sam Houston arrived and changed the campaign from issues to personalities by letting it be known through the army that he was back in Texas and ready to serve. By now the idol of the state, he easily defeated Austin and on October 22 became the first constitutional president of the independent Republic of Texas. Political stability was finally assured and the revolution officially came to an end.

Independence an Accident, Not a Plan

If the general picture here of the revolution is one of confusion, it may be because of the revolution itself. Not even the Texans themselves as Houston took office were able to fully understand the rapid changes which had taken place over the last twelve months. They had begun fighting a small force which only represented military interference in their everyday life, had continued in an effort to defend the Federal Constitution of Mexico, and had ended up fighting for independence. Government had moved through a feuding provisional government, to no government at all, to an ad-interim government, and finally to a constitutional one. The army had actually been four armies, one made up of Texans, followed by a force of U.S. adventurers, one of Texas volunteers again, and then one controlled again by newcomers.

As for the interests and personalities of the men involved, the story is even more confusing. There was no master-planner or visionary leader. The revolution seemed to move sometimes because of and sometimes in spite of the conflict, suspicions, and misunderstandings of the rival personalities involved.

Of the men whose names we know best, Travis and Fannin are remembered because of the way they died, not the way they lived. Henry Smith we know as a man who could not keep his temper and Burnet we unfairly ignore, although he was responsible for maintaining peace during a troubled time. Stephen F. Austin, the one man capable of constructive leadership was unfortunately out of Texas at the time. Sam Houston started as an ambitious troublemaker, who proved either his ability or his luck by his victory at San Jacinto, and then took advantage of the result tc emerge as the popular hero of the revolution.

Thus, the revolution was neither the climax of an imperialistic plot by the U.S., nor the heroic battle of liberty-loving men against unjust tyrants. Basically, it was the result of the difference between the racial and political backgrounds of the two groups of people who came into contact on Texas soil. As typical Anglo frontiersmen, the Texans expected and demanded the type of government their ancestors had known. They were unable to appreciate that the people of Mexico, while adopting the form of this type of government, had never seen it in action. Thus when Santa Anna tried to adjust the system to one which eight million Mexicans understood, some 30,000 Texans protested that their rights were being denied. Under other conditions, a compromise might have been reached, but by 1835 the atmosphere was so filled with mutual distrust that this could hardly be expected.[84]

NOTES

[1] Eugene C. Barker, Mexico and Texas (Dallas, Texas: P. L. Turner Company, 1928), p. 1.

[2] The Texas State Historical Association (ed.), The Republic of Texas (Palo Alto, California, American West Publishing Company, 1971), p. 13.

[3] Ibid., p. 15.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Barker, p. 37.

[6] Ibid., p. 43.

[7] Ibid., p. 52.

[8] Ibid., p. 56.

[9] Ibid., p. 72.

[10] William C. Binkley, The Texas Revolution (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), p. 29.

[11] Barker, p. 104.

[12] Binkley, p. 35.

[13] Ibid., p. 45.

[14] Ibid., p. 50.

[15] Ibid., p. 65.

[16] Ibid., p. 72.

[17] Ibid., p. 73.

[18] Ibid., p. 87.

[19] The Texas Revolution, p. 21.

[20] Ibid., p. 24.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Hobart Huson, "A New Approach to the Teaching of Texas History in Our Schools and Colleges," An address before the South Texas Historical Society (Refugio, Texas, May 8, 1971).

[23] Ibid., p. 113.

[24] Ibid., p. 129.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS: A SHAKEY START

A month following the election on October 3, 1836, the First Congress of the new Republic of Texas gathered at the little town of Columbia, then the capital of Texas. The House and Senate spent the first three weeks organizing themselves amid the confusion of endless discussion and debate. One watching would certainly have worried about the future of Texas. The members of Congress seemed much more interested in organizing themselves than in the problems of the country.

For instance, on the third day the newly-elected sergeant-at-arms became involved in a duel just outside the windows of Congress. Pistol shots rang out--several members dived for the floor, and angry shouts filled the silence following the shooting. Luckily, both men were poor shots and no one was hurt. However, Congress debated for two days whether or not their dignity had been abused and, if so, what they were going to do about it![1] Nothing ever came of the senseless debate but it illustrates the complete confusion surrounding the establishment of the Lone Star Republic.

At the end of the third week of the session the two houses met to inaugurate President Sam Houston and Vice-President Mirabeau B. Lamar. Despite the frontier setting and the hysteria of the first three weeks, the inaugural ceremonies were impressive and dignified. On this day, October 22, 1836, the Republic of Texas became a nation.

Organization of the New Government

Houston lost little time demonstrating his capabilities. Although he was often criticized later, he alone was able to unify the confused, young country. He steered Congress away from its problems and toward the problems of the nation and appointed a Cabinet designed to unit the new country.

Issues Confronting the Republic: Recognition

Texas, inexperienced in self-government, war-torn, poverty-stricken and underpopulated, faced an endless list of difficulties. The most important issue, however, confronting the new republic was recognition by the United States, because until recognition was granted, the world would continue to look upon Texas an only a rebellious Mexican province. Texas, unless she received official recognition from other governments as a nation, could not borrow money, sell land, or have her laws respected. Furthermore, annexation to the United States, which the majority of the people of Texas wanted, was impossible until the United States recognized Texas independence. The annexation of territory still accepted as a part of Mexico, would have caused war with Mexico.

This should have been a simple matter as the United States was in the habit of immediately recognizing governments established by a revolution of the people. The United States had, in fact, recognized Mexico almost before the war for independence from Spain was over.

Two factors, however, caused a delay in the recognition of Texas. First, President Andrew Jackson wanted to avoid angering Mexico. Second, anti-slavery feeling was growing strong in the North, and the abolitionists were utterly opposed to admitting another slave state into the Union. This group quickly realized that recognition was only the first step toward annexation.

Santa Anna Goes to Washington

International politics, though, is a game of poker and cards change often. Having exhausted all other ideas, Houston and Austin, then Secretary of State, decided to send Santa Anna, of all people, to Washington. Their scheme was to have Santa Anna, in exchange for his freedom, convince Congress of Texas' independence and then return home and convince Mexico of the same thing.

Santa Anna arrived in Washington after a leisurely trip up the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and had a friendly visit with Jackson. But the great hopes that he would be able to accomplish anything were quickly dashed. Jackson, who had once even tried to buy Texas, had now decided the whole thing was a risky matter and was determined to leave the decision to Congress.

Here, Texas found friends. Through the efforts of William H. Wharton and Nemucan Hunt, Congress was persuaded to recognize Texas and did so on March 1, 1837, at the same time appropriating money to pay a minister to the new republic. As his last official act before leaving office, Jackson appointed a young Louisianan, Alcee-La Branche as the first U.S. Minister to Texas. Recognition, after almost a year of negotiation, was at last a fact!

Major Laws of the First Congress

As well as joining in the game of international diplomacy, Houston and the First Congress of the Republic were seeking to solve the country's internal problems. These problems were many and overwhelming. The major acts of this first government included meeting the financial crisis, organizing and paying the first army and navy, providing for frontier defense, establishing a system of courts, a post office and a land office, locating a new capital, dividing Texas into counties, and establishing the boundaries of the Republic.

The act affecting the most people was the militia act which required all able-bodied men between seventeen and fifty to join militia companies, units something like our National Guard. The act with longest life was the one creating the Lone Star flag, and the most useless act was the one to stop gambling which was well-accepted as the most popular pastime of the Republic.[a]

The Financial Crisis

Without a doubt the largest problem was the financial one. The young government tried to raise money through the sale of bonds, notes, and land and the collection of taxes and import-export duties. Sale of bonds and notes was a real failure. The sale of land was a source of constant argument as many believed land should be given away, and not sold, as a reward to soldiers and to attract immigrants to settle the underpopulated frontier. The collection of import-export duties was fairly successful but the collection of taxes proved to be very awkward and embarrassing because not many of the citizens of Texas had any money at all. In fact, being a tax collector was dangerous business. Many insulted farmers chased away the tax-collector by putting him at the shooting end of a Kentucky rifle.

Finally, in desperation, Houston lead the Republic down the tricky path of paper money--a path which history has proved time and time again the road to disaster. Once a government makes paper money unbacked by gold in the Treasury, be it in ever so small amounts, it is called on again and again to make more and more and more until the paper bills are absolutely worthless. So it was with Texas. So poor was the Treasury that even the bill for printing the money had to be paid in unbacked paper money. One settler, Noah Smithwick, described the constant cheapening of the the paper money. He recalled, "In payment for a horse I received a hatful of crisp one-dollar bills which I immediately gave back to the purchaser without even folding them. People would rather have almost anything than Texas money."[2]

The Army

Houston soon found that the greatest financial pressure came from trying to support the army and navy. Although the army was a drain on the economy, it was impossible to reduce it because Mexico continued to threaten invasion. Yet, most of the men were without supplies or ammunition.

Felix Huston then headed the army. He was a capable and popular leader but he had one great failing. In spite of his army's poverty, he was determined to attack Mexico. Houston, as determined to maintain peace as was Huston to make war, decided to remove Huston from command and to replace him with Albert Sidney Johnston, a graduate of West Point and an ex-officer in the U.S. Army.

A tornado of jealousy swept through the Texas army. When Johnston arrived to assume command Huston, furious at losing his post, challenged Johnston to a duel. They met early on the morning of January 5, 1837, exchanged shots, and Johnston was badly wounded in the leg. This left Huston in control of the army. Once again the army was on the verge of destroying the young state. Houston wrote: "We may yet save the country, but it will be a chance. Disorganization in the army has done all the evil. God avert the worst!"[4]

Houston decided that if he could not remove Huston from command, he would remove command from Huston. In May when the fiery officer was away planning an invasion of Mexico, President Houston slipped away to the army's main camp. There he gave discharges to all but 600 men, giving them free transportation to New Orleans if they wanted to leave and free land if they wanted to stay. Huston returned to find himself robbed of men and power and had to go home and take up law.

The Navy

The fate of the navy was no better than that of the army. Early in 1837 the navy had two little ships, "The Brutus" and "The Invincible," defending Texas shores against a Mexican blockade. On March 20 the "Invincible" blundered miserably by mistakenly capturing the U.S. merchant brig "Pocket," an accident which cost the Republic $12,000. Houston then tried to limit the navy's warlike efforts and again entered into an intense dispute, this time with the commander of the navy, S. Rheads Fisher. Fisher wanted to raid the Mexican coast; Houston wanted the ships only to protect the Texas coast. While this argument was going on, Texas suffered a large loss.

"The Independence" had been repaired in New Orleans and was returning to Texas with none other than William H. Wharton abroad. About 30 miles off the Texas coast two Mexican warships attacked her, forced her to surrender, and took the ship, passengers and drew to Mexico as prisoners. Again, the Texas navy had only two ships and worse, Texas pride had been severely wounded.

Fisher then was determined to raid the Mexican coast. "The Brutus" and "The Invincible" left Galveston in June and for two months sailed along the Mexican coast. They captured several Mexican ships, landed and looted and burned eight or nine villages, and finally made another fatal mistake. Once again they forced the surrender of the wrong ship, this time an English merchant ship. The cost of damages paid to the British about equaled that money won in the capture of the Mexican ships. Then, on top of financial damage came physical disaster. On the return to Galveston the two ships were attacked and destroyed by Mexican warships.

Thus, by the end of the summer, Texas was left with no navy to guard its coastline and only a fragment of an army to protect against invasion.

Texas Plagued by Indian Attacks

A far more serious threat to the safety of Texas was the ever-growing hostility of the Indians. A large band of four to five hundred Comanches formed in the confusion following the retreat of Santa Anna's army. They raided and plundered all who fell in their path.

On May 19, 1837, this blood-thirsty Indian army, disguising their purpose with a white flag, forced its way into Parkers Fort in Limestone County. There they committed one of the most famous massacres in Texas history.

The Attack on Parkers Fort

The horrible shrieks of the Comanches joined the horrified screams of raped women and the tortured cries of brutally beaten children as the little community tried to defend against the attack.[5] Some settlers escaped but John Parker, his sons and many other prisoners were killed and scalped. Cynthia Ann Parker, Mrs. Rachel Plummer and her son, and Mrs. Elizabeth Kellog were all captured. Elizabeth Kellog was ransomed about six months later and Rachel Plummer was bought by a Sante Fe trader after a year-and-a-half of horrible slavery. Cynthia Ann Parker was raised by the Comanches. She married Chief Nocona and became the mother of the famous Indian leader, Quanah Parker. In 1860, at the age of thirty-four she was taken from the Indians. She never learned to like living among the Anglo again and died a lonely and unhappy woman in 1864.

Other attacks continued all over Texas. The settlers tried several methods but were unable to stop the raids. Finally, the young government decided to create a battalion of mounted gunmen. Giving Sam Houston $100,000, they put him in charge of the new armed group. He appointed a tiny, but deadly band which became the foundation of the famed Texas Rangers. To aid these roaming Indian fighters, several forts were built: one on Walnut Creek in Travis County, one at three forks of the Little River, and another near Palestine.

Although Indian attacks continued, the ranging companies were a powerful little force. As a matter of fact, the Rangers were far more effective and less expensive than had been the rebellious army. Because of them Houston and his government were at last able to give attention to other problems.

Texas Has a New Capital

Among these troubles were those caused by the phenomenal growth of the infant republic. The new government found the little village of Columbia much too small to handle the affairs of a national government. Thus a move had to be made. The city they picked as the new capital was a new but promising spot. In addition, it had the same name as Texas's forceful President. The city was Houston.

On the afternoon of April 21, 1837, exactly one year after the Battle of San Jacinto, a large crowd gathered in Houston outside the new capitol building of Texas, an unpainted two-story house. Overhead floated the Lone Star banner of the

Republic of Texas. Below, a parade, led by a tall, good-looking man in a velvet suit and a fantastic hat prepared to enter the building. The man was, of course, President Houston, and the occasion was the inauguration of the new capital city and the new capitol building.

Houston, The City

Four short months earlier, the first town lots had been sold by founders John K. and Augustus Allen. The Allen brothers had planned the town to replace the village of Harrisburg, which had been burned to the ground by Santa Anna's army. When the Allens chose to name the new city Houston, the vain President was easily convinced to make it the seat of his government. Wild buying and selling followed; some lots were sold for as much as four thousand dollars--on credit, not cash, and a little city replaced the wilderness. Most buildings at this time were no more than tents or log cabins. In fact, the biggest building in Houston was the capitol itself, the only two-story building in town.

Houston, himself, loved drama. He especially enjoyed the publicity he received from his appearances in Indian costume. The day after the ceremony in the new capital he wrapped himself in a blanketand met with a council of Cherokee Indians. Not long afterwards, sitting cross-legged on a table in his two-roomed "Governor's Palace" and naked from the waist up, he entertained John Audubon, the famous naturalist, who was touring the Texas prairies.

The stories of Houston's own adventures, however, are not nearly as colorful as those told about the crazy, growing city which was his namesake.

On May 1, 1832, the second session of the First Congress opened in Houston which at that time had a population of 600 to 700, mostly male. Housing was terrible, the President's log cabin being one of the finest homes. Many Congressmen could find no place to sleep at night and had to roll in blankets on the floor of the local bar, which, by the way, was the first building finished in Houston. One unhappy Congressman wrote home that Houston was "the most miserable place in the world" and a visitor from the United States described it as "the greatest sink of dissipation and vice that modern times has ever known."[8] Drinking, gambling, and fighting were common, but Houston was a frontier town in a frontier country. These were healthy signs of a rich land growing fast and furiously.

While Houston the city was growing in popularity, Houston, the man was not. He had been the hero of San Jacinto and one of the few men powerful enough to bring order to the chaotic Republic but his dictatorial methods had made him many enemies. Some bitterly resented his disbanding the army and navy. Others thought his foreign policy a failure because he had been unable to annex Texas to the United States. Many considered him a drunken and strong-armed tyrant.

Election of a New President

Hence, when election time arrived the anti-Houston forces were large and powerful. They nominated as President, Mirabeau B. Lamar, then the Vice-President of the Republic. Houston supporters were confused and disorganized. They could not renominate Houston because a president could not serve two terms in a row. They were left without a leader. Finally, the Houston men decided on Peter B. Grayson.

The campaign was bitterly fought and apparently hard on the candidates. Grayson, tired and depressed, withdrew from the campaign by committing suicide. The Houston party quickly chose another candidate, James Collingsworth, who became an alcoholic and committed suicide too. The Houston men nominated a third candidate but it was too late. Lamar won a landslide victory.

Leadership by Lamar

Lamar, because of his large victory decided that the Texas voters had completely rejected Houston's programs and accepted his. Because the election was an unusual one this may not have been true, but Lamar chose to believe his support strong. His progressive leadership in the next three years often left Congress and the people far behind. At the next election the voters turned their backs on Lamar and his party. But those three years were eventful, exciting and perhaps, the most important ones in the Republic's history.

A View of the Republic of Texas

In 1839 the Republic of Texas was, in many respects, like a dream come true. It was a romantic paradise on the frontier, blessed with vast amounts of land, fertile soil, beautiful rivers, and good climate. It called to adventuring men everywhere, rich and poor, schooled and unschooled, rough and cultured, all came. Together they created one of the most exciting societies the world has ever known.

These bold Texans, as they called themselves, liked to fight, to play, to drink, to gamble, to quarrel and to court. They loved life and lived it fast. The most prosperous businesses in Texas were the bars. The national pastime was gambling--on anything from tossing silver dollars to poker, horse racing and land speculation. The favorite hobby (besides whittling) was talking-hour-long speeches on every occasion and wild, tall tales which marked Texas forever. The men roared with laughter at themselves, at each other, and especially at shy newcomers, and they filled their spare time with clever (and sometimes gross) practical jokes.[7]

Inauguration of Lamar

Texas at this time is painted well by a description of President Lamar's inauguration on December 1, 1836. A day of drinking and gamblin, a shooting argument and countless street fights were climaxed by a grand ball that night. The inaugural ceremony itself was turned into one of the treatest practical jokes of the time. Sam Houston knew that the new president had worked long and hard to make his inaugural speech a masterpiece. He was determined to steal the show from him. Dressed in knee breeches and a powdered wig, Houston was the only one in costume. He interrupted the ceremony to make a "few" farewell remarks before Lamar was introduced. Houston talked for three hours. Tall stories and dirty jokes were mixed with an exaggerated defense of his years as President. The audience grinned, smiled, and roared with laughter. Lamar squirmed on the platform, anger growing as the minutes turned to an hour and the hours stretched to three. By the time Houston finished, Lamar was too sick with fury and nervousness to give his own speech.[8]

Lamar's Legislation

Houston had won the day but Lamar was still President. Twenty days later he challenged his first Congress to attack Texas' problems with vigor, and that they did. Congress answered Lamar by passing some of the most important legislation ever passed in Texas.

Education.--First among this legislation was the education bill which granted three leagues of land to each county in Texas to be used to support public schools. The law also set aside fifty leagues of public land to support a future university. The university was later located in Austin, Texas, but the land chosen lay in West Texas, where the discovery of oil in the twentieth century made The University of Texas one of the wealthiest universities in the world.

This education act, signed by Lamar on January 26, 1839, is still the basis of all public education in Texas.

Homestead Act.--Almost as important was the Homestead Act, passed on the very same day. This law allowed every head of a family in Texas to own his home, his animals, and the tools of his profession no matter how much in debt he became. Nobody could take these things away from him. This law, passed by Lamar's Congress, copied an earlier Spanish law and still exists today.

Such laws as these, though aids to the Texans, were expensive. In the area of money Lamar was to be a big spender before his term in office ended.

Frontier Problems Persist

In the area of frontier defense Congress was so anxious to act that no less than a dozen laws were passed for the same purpose. Indian troubles, however, continued.

Cherokee War.--One of the saddest and most confusing stories of Indian warfare at this time concerns the peaceful

Cherokee nation. The final settlement of the conflict is an ugly stain in Texas history.

Driven from their native land in the Appalachians, a branch of the Cherokee tribe had migrated to Texas in 1819 and 1820, settling in East Texas. Their wise leader, Chief Bowles, had received recognition of his tribe by the Spanish and the Mexicans, and had even tried to negotiate a treaty with the Republic of Texas through Sam Houston. Houston was an adopted member of their tribe.

The Texas Congress refused to accept the treaty because the Cherokees had remained neutral during the Texas Revolution. The Texans even accused the Cherokees of plotting with Mexico against Texas. Many say that the real reason for refusing the treaty was the strong desire of the Texans to obtain the land that had been promised the Indians.

This true or not, the failure of the treaty of October 1837, angered the Cherokees. Houston tried to calm Chief Bowles, but the Indians grew more and more fearful for their land. By 1838, almost all of the bands in East Texas were ready to fight. In addition, Chief Bowles and the other Cherokee leaders named their people, the Cherokee Nation. How, asked the

Texans angrily, could an independent nation exist within the Republic?

Finally, the Texans, convinced the Cherokees were enemies, built a military post on Grand Saline Creek within the territory claimed by the Cherokees. Trouble followed immediately.

Fighting broke out on July 15, and that afternoon the Indians were defeated in a hard fight on the Neches. The Cherokee War, which was to end disastrously for the Indians had begun. Bowles himself was killed and three battles followed before the Cherokee power was totally borken. Thus, with hatred and misunderstanding, bloodshed and death, the Cherokee problem was ended.

The Comanches.--Much harder to defeat were the terrible Comanches. In fact, during Lamar's term of office the Comanches swept across southwest Texas killing, burning and looting in the most destructive Indian raid of Texas history. The whole thing began with the famous Council House Fight at San Antonio early in the year.

The Council House Fight.--Three Comanche chiefs rode into that ancient city in January 1840 and boldly demanded a treaty with the militia force there. They claimed that they represented all the Comanche Indians. General Karnes of the militia told them that no treaty would be considered unless the Comanches released their white prisoners. The Indians agreed and a date was set for a meeting between the Comanche leaders and the militia.

On March 19 the disastrous event occurred. A group of 65 Comanches, led by Chief Maguara, rode into San Antonio. They left their wives and children outside the Council House and went in to palaver with the Texan officials. However, they brought with them only one captive, fifteen-year-old Matilda Lockhart.

The failure to bring all the captives was alone enough to anger the Texans, but the sight of the child and the tragic story of her treatment at the Comanche camp enraged the white men. Her poor little body, frail from near starvation, was covered with bruises and sores. The flesh from her nose had been burned to the bone. She sobbed forth a sad tale of "how the Indians had beaten her, and how they would wake her from sleep by sticking a chunk of fire to her nose, and how they would shout and laugh like devils, when she cried."[8] She also said that there were at least fifteen other captives still being held at the Indians' camp west of town. She said that the Indians planned to get as high a ransom as possible, for her, then they would bring in others, one at a time, and repeat for bargaining.

The tension in the Council House could almost be felt. "Where are the other prisoners?" asked an Anglo officer angrily.

"We have only one prisoner," Muguara replied. Amazed at the lie, the officers stood silent for a moment.

One young brave stepped forward in the silence and asked, "How you like that answer?"

Before answering, a Captain Howard ordered a company of soldiers to enter the building. Then he informed the chiefs that they were now prisoners and would be held until the other white captives were brought in.

Nothing could be more terrifying than a dozen proud Comanche chiefs suddenly being told that they were to be locked in prison. One sprang at Captain Howard with a knife, stabbing him in the side. Bedlam broke loose. Screeching war cries mingled with the roar of guns. In a matter of minutes, all the Comanche warriors were dead and their squaws and children, prisoners.

Comanche revenge was to be cruel and fierce. All Comanche tirbes withdrew to the West where they plotted through the summer. Knives and lances were sharpened, bows were tested, arrows were made, and night after night, the braves danced around the campfire leaping and shouting to the rhythms of the war dance. By July, the most spectacular raid of Texas was organized.

In August, almost one thousand warrior stormed into Southwest Texas. After raiding and destroying Victoria, the warriors headed toward the coast to the town of Linnville, then a wealthy little port. On the morning of August 8, throwing themselves to the sides of their horses, the Indians moved into the town. To the Texans, it looked as if a huge herd of horses was being driven to market. Suddenly the red-men, with spine-tingling shrieks reared up and straddled their animals.

The horrified settlers fled toward the water where they rushed aboard boats and paddled out into the bay, trembling with fear. All those who failed to reach the boats were killed or captured. While the helpless citizens looked across the water in terror, the Comanches killed and scalped the men, tortured the screaming women, and looted and burned the town.

News of Victoria and Linville spread through Texas. Volunteers rushed to Plum Creek where they planned to meet the Indians. The Comanches, slowed by several thousand horses and mules and hundreds of pounds of loot, gave the settlers time to organize.

On August 12 the enemies met. While some of the Indians attempted to save their war prizes, others fought bravely. A Texan volunteer describes one of the most daring chiefs, who caught the attention of everybody:

> He was riding a very fine horse, held by a fine American bridle, with a red ribbon eight or ten feet long, tied to the tail of the horse. He was dressed in elegant style, from the goods stolen at Linnville, with a high top silk hat, fine pair of boots and leather gloves, an elegant coat, hind part before, with brass buttons shining brightly up and down his back. He was carrying a large umbrella, opened.[10]

A running battle stretching over twelve to fifteen miles followed. Between seventy and eighty Comanches were killed. Again in October the Texans attacked the Comanches, this time killing over 130 and recapturing most of the plunder from Linnville. The terrible raid was effectively stopped, but from 1840 until their final defeat in 1878, the Comanches remained dangerous enemies of the white settlers.

Founding of Austin

Even while the frontier blazed in bloodshed and destruction, a bold plan to build Texas' capital city on the edge of civilization was completed. Lamar himself had picked the spot for the new capital while on a buffalo hunt.

Within weeks surveyors laid out a town facing the Colorado River between Waller and Shoal Creeks. Over the summer of 1839, workmen labored frantically to finish the city before Congress arrived in November.

Austin was the most unprotected settlement in the Republic--an unlikely place to build a capital. But in spite of the Indian danger, hundreds of immigrants flocked in during the summer. Log cabins began to dot the hillsides; and in the center of town, on Congress Avenue, a large two-story hotel was built. It was named Bullock's Hotel.

Austin, rising out of a beautiful wilderness, was an impressive sight. It was the result of a dream rather than a speculative deal. By October of 1839, the town was ready for the government; the population was then about 800. On October 17, President Lamar arrived at the head of an official parade. Forty wagon loads of furniture, books, paper, and records of the government trailed behind. That night the rollicking Texans held a giant celebration at Bullock's Hotel. Austin was a proud and alive city!

The French Recognize Texas

Lamar not only saw impressive legislation passed, the sad solution of the Cherokee problem, the most terrible Indian raid in Texas history, and the creation of a capital city; he also saw the Republic achieve international importance. On September 25 the Treaty of Amity, Navigation and Commerce between France and Texas was signed. France became the first European nation to recognize Texas and the only country to ever have an embassy in the Republic of Texas. The original French Legation still stands in Austin today and is presently the headquarters of the first French Consul in Austin in 130 years.

Depression Strikes Texas

Toward the end of Lamar's term in office the boon spirit that had gloriously carried Texas through her first year as an independent country collapsed. No one had any money.

Sheriffs did not even try to collect taxes; and merchants throughout Texas gave up on trying to collect overdue bills. The owner of a hotel who asked a guest to make a small payment on his bill was met with the answer: "If you come to insult me again, sir, by God, I'll shoot you sir."[11]

Lamar had not created the depression but his large expenditures had certainly increased it. Hence, at election time Houston and his followers had their guns loaded, and Lamar's policies were met with criticism on all sides.

The Houston men had no problem finding a candidate. Houston was willing and anxious to run. Lamar's party had problems. Lamar could not be president twice in a row and the party was split on which candidate to choose. They finally rallied behind David Burnet.

The election was bitter; each candidate hated the other, and thus, the election became a battle of personalities. Houston frequently poked fun at Burnet and, on one occasion, called him a hog thief. Furious, Burnet challenged him to a duel. Houston replied by sending him a note saying that he fought "downhill." Burnet was even angrier. Election day arrived in the heat of insult. Houston was the victor by over 4,000 votes. The great majority of Texans agreed with a saying of the time: "Houston, drunk in a ditch, is worth a thousand of Lamar and Burnet."[12]

Houston Again Leads The Republic

An interesting picture of the President at this time shows him a very human man. The description is drawn from the memories of friends with whom he stayed while his wife was on a visit to Alabama.

His constant whittling scattered splinters of wood all over Mrs. John Lockhart's house. His habit of spitting messed up her porch. But worse, the temptation of a good jug of whiskey caused him to forget his disapproving, but absent wife one night. Long after others had gone to bed, he called a slave to bring him an axe and with it energetically chopped off one of the beautiful, hand-carved wooden posts of a fine old four-poster bed. The noise brought his host, Judge Lockhart rushing into the room. With dignity and logic the President explained that the post had bothered his breathing and had kept him awake. The judge quietly left, leaving Houston to his sleep. This was his last reported night with the jug.[13]

Houston's Program

In fact, his inauguration was coldly sober. His message to the country was blunt: "There is not a dollar in the Treasury. The nation is involved from ten to fifteen millions. We are not only without money, but without credit, and without honor."[14] He advised a strong budget, no wars or expeditions, and peace with the Indians by establishing trading posts.

To show he too, was willing to save money, he refused to live in the two-story President's mansion and lived in one room, instead, at Bullock's Hotel.

His program may have been tight but it was effective. In three years Lamar had spent $5,000,000. Houston was to spend in his five years only $500,000.

Houston's Indian Policy

There was a large contrast, too, between Lamar's and Houston's Indian policies. Houston had a string of trading posts built along the western border of settled Texas. Each was staffed by 25 men who protected the border, traded and made treaties with the Indians. Two of these which were very successful were located at present New Braunfels and near present Waco.

This peace policy continued throughout the life of the Republic, but only aided and did not end, the Indian problem. Slowly over the years, grasping white men pushed into Indian hunting grounds. Soon most of the tribes were to be crowded onto reservations in Oklahoma, until only the Comanche and the Apache were left to war with the whites. It was to be long after the Civil War when these brave bands were to be completely defeated.

Border Skirmishes

Houston was a strong and stubborn man, and he was determined to have peace. After several arguments with Mexico the Texas Congress declared war on her southern neighbor. Houston not only vetoed their decision, but denied the Texas Navy any Treasury funds. A large group of adventurous and overly-zealous Texans were furious. A storm of protest answered Houston's decisions. Hardly had the reaction calmed when the worst of all possible disasters to Houston's peace policy occurred--Texas was invaded a second time by Mexico!

Mexico Invades Texas.--On September 11, 1842, General Adrian Woll, a French soldier of fortune, employed by Santa Anna appeared suddenly on the outskirts of San Antonio with an army of fourteen hundred men. The citizens, who were surrounded, surrendered. The Mexican general raised his flag on the plaza, and announced the conquest of Texas by Mexico.

Encamped outside of the town was Captain John C. Hayes and a small band of Texas Rangers. As news of the invasion spread, more than 600 unruly but eager volunteers rushed to the Ranger camp. The Texans lured the Mexicans into a battle at Salado Creek and were victorious. Woll and his men retreated toward Mexico.

But Houston's peace policy was shattered! Fiery editorials, and biting comments bombarded him at every turn. Houston was forced to order the Mexicans pursued.

Command of the Texas forces was given to Alexander Somervell, who followed Woll and his army as far as the Rio Grande. Reaching Laredo on December 6, they found the town evacuated of Mexican troops. Unfortunately, some of the men fell like wolves on the homes of the Mexican population. Somervell ordered his troops to return to Gonzales to be disbanded. This was met with open rebellion, and about three hundred men organized themselves under Colonel William S. Fisher to stage a military entrada into Mexico. The results were to be tragic.

Fisher's Lawless Band Invades Mexico

Fisher and his men were committing outright mutiny, but they were examples of the warlike feelings among many Texans at the time. The rebellious men were positive that Sam Houston's peace policy was a mistake, and simply decided to take matters in their own hands.

Attacking Mier on December 23, they demanded that the town give them supplies and ransom money, and kidnapped the mayor and the local priest as hostages.

While the ragged band of Texans awaited the delivery of their supplies, the Mexican general, Pedro Aupudia, slipped into the town with over two thousand men. A furious battle followed. The battle raged on for two days before Fisher and his men finally surrendered.

Santa Anna, hearing of the invasion, ordered that all those taken be executed. The Governor of Coahuila refused to obey, and Santa Anna reduced his order to the execution of one man out of ten. This meant that of the 176, 17 must die. What followed at the little Mexican village of Salado was one of the most dramatic moments in history--the drawing of the black beans.

In order to decide who among the prisoners were to receive the death sentence, it was decided to mix 17 black beans in an earthen pot with 159 white beans. Blindfolded, the men filed up to the jar and drew out their fate. The seventeen men were led into a separate courtyard, where they were blindfolded, then shot.

Again, Santa Anna's mistake shocked the world. Resentment against the Texans, who were clearly criminal pirates, changed to sympathy. Another black legend of Santa Anna's cruelty spread and added sparks to the fire that would later explode into a war between the United States and Mexico.

Archives War

Drunk or sober, Houston had risen to heights of greatness during his second term in office. He had also been mean, and untrustworthy. In his attitude toward Austin he had been petty.

Determined to move the capital from "that d----d hole called Austin," as he put it, to his namesake Houston, he used the problems with Mexico as an excuse. He stated grandly that he had a sacred duty to protect the capital against invasion.

The people in Austin, however, were not buying this excuse. Without the state records or "archives" Austin would lose its position as the capital and later wither away as a city. The citizens held a mass meeting to organize the town to fight the removal of its only hope for the future. A vigilante committee was appointed to guard the archives, and a lookout patrol was established.

Stubborn as always, Houston secretly ordered Colonel Thomas I. Smith and Captain Eli Chandler to steal the records and take them to Houston. On the morning of December 30, they entered Austin quietly, with three wagons and twenty men. They almost got the wagons loaded before anyone in town realized what was happening. It was Mrs. Angelina Eberly, manager of the Bullock Hotel, who discovered the official thieves and spread the alarm. Rushing to Congress Avenue, where a small cannon was kept loaded in the case of Indian attack, the tiny woman fired it at the land office. Smith and his men fled with the records.

Some twenty Austin men rushed after them. They were slowed because they decided to take the cannon with them. The chase lasted all day and into the night. A wet norther blew in and a hard rain fell. Both parties were miserable. Smith decided to camp at Brushy Creek; at dawn he found himself surrounded. Mark B. Lewis, in charge of the Austin men, gave Smith the choice of fighting or surrendering. With the little cannon pointed right at him, Smith had no choice. Hence, both sides, records in tow, returned to Austin where the ladies of Austin held a giant New Year's Eve party for all. Thus ended the bloodless "Archives War," and thus did the city of Austin cling to its title as the capital of Texas.

Colonization of Texas

More pleasant events, however, than border disputes and internal arguments marked Houston's second term in office. Most long-lasting and important of these events was the colonization of Texas.

Immigration had long been a necessity to the thinly populated Republic. Immigrants would settle the frontier, crowd the Indians back, and would protect the older settlements from raids. Immigrants would bring money into Texas, pay taxes, and fight in the militia. Immigration seemed the best method to win peace and prosperity.

To encourage immigration the Texas Congress tried everything and finally fell back on the old Mexican impresario system, with the creation of colonies directed by some active leader.

The Peters Colony.-- The first man to be granted one of these colonies was a very unlikely choice. He was a musician from Kentucky named William S. Peters. After many false starts he brought with him from Kentucky a group of families led by music teachers and musicians, a group totally unsuited to rough and tumble Texas life. Although this colony was a nightmare of stupidity, misunderstanding and controversy, it laid the foundations for the modern cities of Fort Worth and Dallas and was responsible for the largest single immigration to Texas.

French Immigration Creates Castorville.--A more successful colony than the one of musicians and dreamers was that lead by the Frenchman Henri Castro. Castro received two grants for settling six hundred Europeans in Southwest Texas. Between 1843 and 1847, he chartered some twenty-seven ships and brought nearly five hundred families and an equal number of single men from France to this colony. Located on the

Medina River, the center of settlement was named Castroville. Other villages he established were Quihi, Vandenburg, and D'Hanis.

German Immigrants Found New Braunfels.--Even more important than Castro's Colony were the contracts which Houston made with Henry Francis Fisher and Burchard Miller. The two men contracted to bring six thousand German, Dutch, Swedish, Danish and Norwegian settlers to Texas. Many German intellectuals who were unhappy with political conditions at home were anxious to come to Texas. The first German settlers arrived on the Comal River north of San Antonio in the spring of 1845. There they built homes and established a village, named New Braunfels in honor of their leader, Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels. From that time on, German immigration was widespread and prosperous. German settlements multiplied. The Germans were the only settlers able to make peace with the Comanches. They worked hard and built permanent homes, many of which still house the original families today. Most of these immigrants were not adventurers or crude frontiersmen. They were educators, musicians, scientists and other cultured men. In fact, there is a story that one such immigrant insisted on wearing both top hat and frock coat to plow his fields daily.[15]

The years between 1843 and 1847, then, were years of important growth in Texas. The vast land that had a century before been little more than a blank space on Spanish maps was now the home of a multitude of cultures. The rich plains, long ago the choice of the first man, nourished, protected, or destroyed a large variety of men from the ancient warring Comanche to the German gentleman-farmer.

Annexation

At this same time an event was developing which would prove to be even more important to the future of Texas. Those in the United States who had before feared the annexation of Texas were now beginning to support it. This change was brought about by the growing feeling that Texas was becoming too friendly with Great Britain. To admit a slave state into the United States and at the same time risk war with Mexico was bad, but to risk a powerful enemy like Great Britain moving in on the West was worse. Hence, Congress again opened the old argument of annexation of Texas.

There was one major problem. New territories could be admitted to the United States only by a two-thirds vote in the Congress. While the majority of Congress was in favor of admitting Texas, this majority did not number two-thirds of the Congress. Thus, President Polk came up with an idea that had never been tried before nor has been attempted since the admission of Texas. He had Congress pass a bill admitting Texas directly as a state because a bill requires only a majority vote. What an advantage to the little Republic! She had the opportunity of immediately doing away with all of the years required for a territory to prove herself a state. In addition, she was the only state ever admitted to the union that was allowed to keep her public lands.

The people of Texas jumped at the offer. On July 4, 1845, representatives met in Austin for a constitutional convention. There they adopted the ordinance of annexation and worked for two months on a state constitution. In October the completed constitution was sent to Washington, Congress approved it, and President Polk signed the Texas Admission Act on December 29, 1845.

NOTES

[1] Seymour V. Connor, Adventure in Glory (Austin, Texas: Steck-Vaughn Company, 1965), p. 17.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 28.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 48.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 34.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 54.

[6] *Ibid*., p. 45.

[7] *Ibid*., p. 89.

[8] *Ibid*., p. 91.

[9] *Ibid*., p. 123.

[10] *Ibid*., p. 128.

[11] *Ibid*., p. 140.

[12] *Ibid*., p. 163.

[13] *Ibid*., p. 163.

[14] *Ibid*., p. 166.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 212.

CHAPTER IX

TEXAS BECOMES A STATE

The inauguration of the new state took place in Austin on February 19, 1846. Against a background of lovely Colorado hills, a large group of men gathered quietly before the little log capitol building. Above the gray scene floated the bright red, white, and blue flag of the Republic of Texas. As the last president of the Republic, Anson Jones, ended a dramatic speech, he loosened the rope which held the flag, and it slowly fluttered downward. "The Republic of Texas is no more," he cried. From the crowd suddenly stepped the tall figure of Sam Houston. He gathered the flag to his chest before it reached the ground. There were tears in the eyes of many of the spectators, and the hush that followed the end of the ceremony was soon broken by the honking of noses blown loudly to hide the emotion.[1]

The Mexican War

Anglo settlers in Mexican Texas had represented a great restlessness in the American spirit, a restlessness that led a varied collection of pioneers into the farm corners of the West by 1830. Excited by so much success, Anglo homesteaders began to explain their tremendous advance as the result of a new faith called "Manifest Destiny." They belived that the spread of the United States, her government and her culture from sea to sea was not only natural, but also "God's Will." This belief accepted, there no longer remained any room whatsoever for the first Americans, the Indians, or the Mexican heirs of Spain.

Of course, not all of the nation accepted this idea nor its results, but enough did that when James K. Polk promised to acquire both Texas and Oregon for the U.S., he was elected President by a razor-thin margin.

The first move in Polk's plan was the annexation of Texas. The infuriated Mexican Government considered this act nothing less than territorial robbery. Announcing that the action equaled a declaration of war, the Mexican ambassador left Washington. Meanwhile England, who claimed Oregon, growled threateningly about Polk's plans. It looked as though the U.S. would fight two wars at once.

Polk sent his diplomats to Britain for talks and, at the same time, tried to buy the Southwest, California included, from Mexico. Mexico flatly refused his agents. Polk answered by rattling the sword. He ordered Zachary Taylor to march to the Rio Grande in April 1846.

This move was sure to provoke the Mexicans. The country north of the river was seething with Mexican cavalry. This region was claimed by both nations, and both had the right to send armed forces into it. Taylor chose as his base a bend of the river directly across from the Mexican city of Matamoros. Each morning and evening, in full view of General Arista, Brown raised and lowered the Stars and Stripes to the fife and drum. This infuriated those who lived in Matamoros, many of whom owned land north of the Rio Grande. Arista was forced into action. He ordered some 1,500 Mexican soldiers across the river. Polk's and Taylor's plan had worked. They could now claim that Mexico had started the war![a]

Polk had what he wanted. He immediately went to Congress with the message that American blood had been shed on American soil. The Congress dared not do anything but declare war.

The volunteers who answered Polk's first call show the area in which most enthusiasm for the war lay. Most of the men came from the western states and territories. Strangely enough, Texas, the cause of the conflict, provided few men. She did send her much-praised Texas Rangers, but they were so unruly and lawless that Taylor sent them back.[3]

The rest of the war, in which one wing of the U.S. Army marched into Mexico across the Rio Grande, one entered from the port city of Vera Cruz, and a third swept across the far West, was fought outside Texas. In January 1848 General Winfield Scott battered into Mexico City, slaughtering the handful of military cadets left to defend their capital, and on February 2, 1848, Mexico signed the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. By this treaty the United States bought California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Wyoming and a part of Colorado for $15,000,000. Mexico gave up all claims to Texas. In addition, the United States Government granted citizenship to all Mexicans living in these territories and promised to respect the language, culture and religion of the new Mexican-American. This treaty was to be broken time and time again by the U.S.

A Brief and Bloody Peace

Although the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo brought peace to a larger and more powerful United States, the question of slavery had already poisoned that peace. With the addition of a new territory came the never-ending, bitter battle--would the territory be slave or free? In all this sound and fury, North and South, there was no real understanding that slavery had reached its natural limits. It had no future west of a line almost even with Austin. The farm line stopped at the San Antonio and Nueces Rivers. The land of the numberless buffalo and the dry plains of the West was a Comanche paradise but a nightmare to men who needed fertile soil and plentiful rains. Those men who argued heatedly in Washington over the fate of the Southwest were painfully ignorant of their new lands.

Texas Enters a Long-Lasting Dispute

Nevertheless, the slavery question which was to soon tear the nation apart, threw the state of Texas into a new boundary dispute, this time with the U.S. herself. Texas had claimed the Rio Grande as her boundary not only in the South but westward as far as Colorado. This included half of New Mexico. The United States had agreed to this claim upon annexation. Anti-slave sentiment was growing, however, and in 1848 the U.S. government broke its agreement and made New Mexico a separate non-slave state. The Texans, long a land-hungry people, were furious. The predictions of those who had objected to annexation had come true. Texas was now involved in the unending arguments and prejudices of other Americans in other states.

This dispute was to be only the first of many between Texas and the U.S. It gave birth to several lasting trends in Texas-Washington relations.[4] First, Texas resented all national interference in their own affairs, even when there was a majority agreement across the U.S. Texans viewed the American Union as a collection of equally powerful states. Although this was an outdated view of national government, it was the view of Americans in 1789, when the settlers had marched out of Appalacia in the eighteenth century. The new nationalism had not replaced their own creed of race, blood and soil.

Intensely touchy about national interference in local matters, Texans, on the other hand, were equally certain that the national government never did enough for them.

There was one genuine basis for this growing belief in 1845. Texas disbanded its army and turned the frontier problem over to the federal government. The federal authorities understood little of the frontier problem and handled it poorly. For long periods between 1845 and 1875 the federal government tried to make peace with Indians or failed to act in a land where warfare and bloodshed were a way of life. Some 200 Texans were killed by Indians in the year 1849 alone. The U.S. Army kept only a few thousand foot soldiers in the state. They were helpless against the hard-riding Comanches. In 1850, people were still being killed on the outskirts of Austin. The Texas people grew bitter and the Governor, over the objections of the U.S. Army, again called out the Rangers.

The Army disliked the Rangers and the Rangers made fun of the Army. The reasons were simple. The Army tried to keep the peace while the Rangers rode to punish the Indians and push them back. The state demanded an end to Indians while Washington hung back. Real tension resulted.

In addition to demanding defense from the federal government, Texas demanded money. The only thing of value in Texas was its vast amounts of land and this was used not for cash, but to bring in settlers. Also, Texans strongly believed they had fought a revolution for freedom and hence did not need to pay taxes. They, thus, expected the national government to correct their cash problem.

Through a series of political manuevers involving the boundary settlement and frontier defense, the new state managed to wrestle $4,000,000 from the national government. In the 1850's this money allowed the state to live officially "high on the hog." Loving visible monuments of wealth, the Texas government built hundreds of ornate public buildings, endowed schools, and laid out miles of railroads. By 1860, the state government was once again almost $1,000,000 in debt.

Problems, therefore, between Texas and the federal government which were to last well into the twentieth century began during the years of early statehood. The state of planters, pioneers, and adventurers, with one hand resisted all national control and with the other begged for enormous amounts of national aid. The people resentful of outside suggestions, learned to look to outside sources rather than to taxation to support their government, and were not prepared for the day when donation would cease and debts would be demanded.

Secession

In the 1850's along with the establishment of statehood, an explosive atmosphere of political crisis was brewing in Texas. This was part of the larger crisis that was spreading across the United States, separating the North and the South. The two sections had built two very different societies; the North was entering industrialism and the South was still a strongly agricultural society. Differing economically and politically, the Northern states and the South found the point of explosion in the question of slavery. While the North had abolished slavery many years before, the South still depended on slaves to work their cotton plantations. Compromise became impossible. The South refused to change and the North began to consider slavery as nothing less than a mortal sin.

The slave system created a terrible sense of insecurity in Texas. Slavery was not really popular with that 95 percent of the population who owned no slaves, but the average white Texan feared and hated the black. The black lived in another world from the white farmer; he was a facelsss mass, he was hardly thought of as human. The plantation owner, on the other hand, knew the black in personal terms, as a human being. Hence, when the North demanded that slavery be abolished, those who were least affected fought hardest. The plantation owner and slave master favored compromise. The great mass of poor white farmers cried secession.[5]

An uncontrollable hysteria gripped Texas and Texans reacted with characteristic violence. Every rumor was swallowed without question. Texans believed their land was laced with traitors and that every Black was ready to rise and kill.

The panic took the form of the old witch hunt. A sixty-year-old preacher criticized the whipping of slaves in a sermon. His Texas congregation tied him to a post and almost killed the old man with seventy lashes on his back. Self-appointed committees burned all books about the North and all goods manufactured in the North. A secret organization known as the Knights of the Golden Circle sprang up across the state. The Knights' aims were to make the South safe for slavery and to conquer Mexico as a side order. During the summer of 1860, a series of mysterious fires blazed along the North Texas frontier. Several unfortunate Blacks were hung for no apparent reason.

Fear and distrust spread all across the South but the wildest rumors and violence were confined to the white regions of West Texas. Meanwhile, in the old counties along the Colorado and Brazos the slaves continued to hoe and pick cotton peacefully. Thus, the movement toward secession was led not by the handful of Texas planters, but by the politicians, lawyers, and rabble-rousers, supported hugely by the large, voting middle class. The terrorism, violence and lawlessness that resulted was a tragic twist of the democratic system.

Secession Becomes a Fact

Hatred fed upon hatred and when it became time to nominate a new president the tortured country was badly split. The Democrats held their convention to nominate a presidential candidate in Charleston, South Carolina. An argument over slavery soon developed between North and South. The southern delegates, frightened by northern strength, refused to compromise and walked out of the convention. They knew they were destroying their party but they did not care. The majority of these men had already made up their minds to secede. The Northern Democrats reacted to the Southern Democrats just as one familiar with the explosiveness of the situation would have expected. They told the Texans and others to go to Hell. Thus, the election of 1860 included not two, but three major parties: the Northern Democrats, the Southern Democrats, and the Republicans. Obviously the Democratic Party, already split in two, had no chance of winning.

In this state of hysteria in the countryside and this condition of political chaos, the nation approached the election of 1860. It became perfectly clear that the Southern Democrats would lose to the Northern-supported Republicans and their candidate, Abraham Lincoln. Southerners everywhere began to cry that a new Southern Confederacy, composed only of slave states, was far better than the United States under Republican rule.

Sam Houston Opposes Secession.--San Houston, the sometimes villain of Texas, was now 67 years old and ill. But on September 22, 1860 at a mass rally he called at Austin, he got up from his sick bed to make what was probably both his best speech and his worst received speech. It was to be many years before Texans could understand the ideas of this dying man.

Houston spoke dramatically against secession, come what may. Houston spoke as long as his strength lasted, clearly, carefully destroying the arguments of the radicals one by one. He pointed out their strange logic, that of threatening secession every time something went wrong. But he was talking to a mob of people who were not interested in anything but their own fears, hatreds and emotions.

Houston was a man who believed in the rules of the game, but not a moral man. This damaged his image in many eyes.

In the last months before disaster, Houston was exploring the chances of starting a war with Mexico. At this time Governor of the state, he moved Rangers toward the border and tried to find funds for the greatest filibuster ever. Houston's dream was to conquer all Mexico which might make him President of the United States and allow him to save the Union from Civil War. But Houston was too old and the hour, too late. The vision of a powerful nation stretching from sea to sea had vanished in the heat of hate and distrust. Those who had promoted this vision had vanished too. Right or wrong, these men were giants and Houston was the last of them.

Texas Secedes From the Union.--On November 8, 1860, the event dreaded in Texas happened; Lincoln won the Presidency. He had received not a single vote in Texas, and Texans, caught up in the rumors and tales of the time, believed the doom of the South was sealed.

South Carolina seceded from the Union immediately. Other Southern states followed. Texas demanded that Houston call a convention to discuss secession. He refused. However, hot-headed Texans acted and called an illegal convention anyway.

The actual voting on secession came at high noon, February 1, 1861. There was an atmosphere of tension and drama, and the galleries of the convention hall were packed while 174 delegates shouted "aye" or "no" to secession as their names were called. Seventy delegates voted for secession before a single "no" was registered. This brought jeers and catcalls from the gallery.

The balloting continued. At its end only seven men from all Texas voted no. When the results were announced, thunderous cheers rocked the hall. Outside the hall, Austin went wild and messengers galloped north, east and south to spread the news. Most Texans, in a burst of enthusiasm, believed they had been freed from Northern evil.

Quietly, almost unnoticed, the handful who had voted against secession left the hall and had themselves photographed for history's sake. Sixty-six years were to pass before this photograph was allowed to be printed or shown in Texas.[6]

Texans Face a Tough Decision.--Houston, like other Texans, now faced a big decision. Would he take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, as all state officers were now required to do, or retire from public life? Houston chose the latter. He refused to take the oath to the Confederacy on the grounds that it violated his oath to the U.S. Constitution. He was removed from office immediately. He retired to his home in Huntsville, an old and disappointed man.

Houston faced the same problem thousands of Southerners who had taken an oath of allegiance to the United States faced. All were torn between personal and professional honor, beliefs of right and wrong, and their deep loyalty to their kin and their state. Robert E. Lee, himself, agonized over and made his decision in a hotel in San Antonio, Texas. Lee met with Edmund J. Davis of Brownsville, a District Court Judge, in a small hotel off Main Plaza in San Antonio. Davis told Lee that he was the best soldier in the federal forces and begged him to stand by the Union. Lee, then a Lieutenant Colonel, paced up and down, the pain of decision on his face. Finally Lee answered that he knew secession meant certain suicide for the South, but that he had to be loyal to his people and his state. He would go with Virginia.[7]

Thousands of Texans had to choose between an abstract oath to a far-off government and their own poeple. To the Texas mind, land and kin ranked above all other loyalties. Most chose to don the gray.

Texas at War Again

On April 12, 1861, Confederates in South Carolina fired upon the United States fort army stationed at Fort Sumter in Charleston. Blood was shed, the war had begun.

In Texas, a wave of popular patriotism replaced the "Great Fear" of the year before. Ninety percent of the population stood by the state. Small groups of Northern immigrants in North Texas resisted allegiance to the Confederacy, and the Germans, spread through the hill country, did not rally to the Bonny Blue Flag. In addition, the majority of the Mexican population, located almost entirely South of San Antonio, considered the war a gringo affair and opted out. Union sympathizers, though, were a tiny minority. Most Texans stepped up and out for Dixie.

Texas Manpower in the Civil War.--Late in the summer of 1861, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, asked Texas for 20 companies of infantry. Thirty-two companies answered the call. These men, drawn from all over Texas, marched to Virginia into shot, shell, and legend. Between 60,000 and 70,000 men saw service at some time during the war. The one great contribution of Texas to the Southern cause was men.

Texas supplied 135 officers to the South, including two talented and famous professionals, John B. Hood and Albert Sidney Johnston. Only one native-born Texan became a Confederate general; Felix Huston Robertson. He was the last Confederate officer to die.

Two-thirds of the Texan companies fought west of the Mississippi in bitter, bloody battles that never gained recognition or fame. Terry's Rangers were famous for reckless and heroic dash. Two-thirds of Terry's men were killed, their bones scattered in a hundred places. Hood's and Ross's brigade fought bravely on both sides of the Mississippi, losing or maiming a bloody toll of men and boys. Texas's loss in blood and bone was proportionally higher than that of any Northern state. One-fouth of Texas' manpower was killed or incapacitated during the Civil War.

The War at Home.--Texans at home also fought a hard battle. Texas, an agricultural and frontier society, was totally unprepared to fight a war against an industrial society. The Union immediately blockaded her ports cutting off both her imports and her one source of income, the sale of cotton. The federal blockade caused the disappearance of such luxuries as factory-woven cloth, tobacco, sugar, and coffee, and also prevented the importation of such dire necessities as medicine and medical supplies. Few things caused more suffering and resentment in the South. Confederate hospitals were tragic and hideous places late in the year.

In addition, men from 16 to 65 were called to fight the war, leaving the women and slaves, who were loyal and peaceful throughout the conflict, to raise food for their families and defend the frontier.

During these years the Anglo-American frontier recoiled eastward two-hundred miles. In 1864, Comanche-Kiowa raiding bands rode as far east as Young County, driving settlers back by the thousands. Those that did stay spent the war "forted up" as in the days of Daniel Boone.

Hence, although Texas could keep an army in the field one year, she was completely unable to support either herself or her army after that. Northern manufacturers, more than the Northern army, crushed the South. Neither could Texas sell her cotton, nor buy more goods. Hood's brigade charged across wheat stubble in bare feet, and Ross's volunteers fought with empty bellies. While the industrial managers of the North raised, equipped and maintained 2,000,000 bluecoats, the South raised less than a million men and could not feed those. What those Texans at home managed to grow they were unable to ship North because of inadequate transportation. Meanwhile, farm after farm was abandoned in West Texas as the Indians pushed eastward.

The Battle of Sabine Pass.--While the Union controlled the sea off the coast of Texas throughout the war, she was unable to conquer the Texas ports. In 1863, Admiral David Farragut and Major General N. P. Banks decided to change this. Choosing the place where the Neches and Sabine Rivers flow into the Gulf as a weak point, they made plans to conquer Sabine Pass and use the port as a base from which to strike at Houston, Dallas, and Beaumont. Major General William B. Franklin was in command. On September 8, 1863, he lead four gunboats followed by a flotilla of 20 transports against Sabine Pass.

A small Confederate post, Fort Griffin, stood at the Pass. Here the Davis Guards were on watch with no more than six cannon. On this particular day neither the commander nor his lieutenant was present. The junior lieutenant, Dick Dowling, had been left in charge of only forty men.

While the flotilla carrying 5,000 Union soldiers stood off-shore the four Union gunboats moved up the channel and bombarded Dowling's command. Dowling waited cooly. He let the federal warships come within 1,200 yards and then, under heavy fire himself, bombarded them with his small cannon. The result was spectacular. Two ships sank, one surrendered, and the fourth escaped with the surprised flotilla.

U.S. naval forces lost two ships, 100 killed and injured, and 350 prisoners. Dowling's force was untouched. In a few minutes, Lieutenant Dick Dowling had fought the most important small battle of the Civil War. The Davis Guards received one of the only two decorations awarded by the Confederacy. This was the only battle fought on Texas soil and one of the last victories for the Confederacy.

The Conquered

Although General Robert E. Lee officially surrendered the Confederate sword at Appomatox, Virginia in April of 1865, there was no formal surrender in Texas. The Confederate Army and state government simply melted away. Most of the Texas-Confederate leaders took refuge in Mexico. The soldiers disbanded and went home. Everywhere there was a feeling of despair.

The returning soldiers were deeply bitter, not only at defeat, but by a gnawing feeling that their sacrifices had not been shared. In mass meetings at La Grange and in Fayette County, soldiers seized and passed out Confederate and state property to poor military families. Stores in San Antonio were looted; the State Treasury was robbed. All government had collapsed.

Texas was a poverty state. All progress had stopped for a total of four years. The farmers had suffered terribly during the war. Now, although illogical, they tended to blame their troubles on the slaves. The hatred of the Blacks became a flaming thing.

On June 19, 1865, General Gordon Granger of the Union Army, landed in Texas. At Galveston he proclaimed, in the name of President Johnson, that the authority of the United States over Texas was restored, that all acts of the Confederacy were null and void, and that the slaves were free. This was the historic "Juneteenth" now celebrated by Texas Blacks as Emancipation Day.

Thousands of Bluecoats arrived in Texas; 52,000 were sent to the Texas-Mexico border alone. The other thousands camped on the coast and in the towns in the East to show Yankee strength. Countless Texans watched Union soldiers march through the state with fife, drum, and bayonet. This left a sense of resentment and defensive pride that non-Southerners never understood.

The Texans were a stubborn and proud people. They considered themselves a conquering race, but now they were conquered. Few Texans saw the fact that the North had won as "right." They had fought fiercely for the right as they saw it and for liberty as Texans felt it. The Northern belief that democracy had won was not accepted. In 1861, Texas had been an Anglo-Saxon democracy and that to the majority of Texas was sufficient. They had long ago carried what they considered their democratic rights over the Alleganies determined to protect them, but with no intention of extending those rights to others.

Defeat was bitter but the coming humiliations were worse. The state was placed under military rule. Army tribunals replaced the civil courts--not without reason, since no Union man or Black could hope for fairness from a Texas jury. Union Army officers were able to act as they wanted.

Most of them were very fair and kept their troops' under control. Some did not. More damaging than the actual crimes, however, was the fact that many Northerners enjoyed making fun of the braggadocious folkways of the Texas race.

Of course, the great majority of the admirable young men from the North who had saved the Union went home! Few of the best, in any age, seek occupation duty.

None of this was unusual in the aftermath of war; in all fairness, few occupying armies ever were so fair. There was little looting of private property and few executions for any reason. But this kind of thing had never happened in the United States before. The great misfortune was not that it was so bad, but that it was to go on so long. In Texas, outside rule was to last not a few months, but for nine long years. These years seeded for a hundred years certain hatreds, fears, distrusts, and suspicions in the Texas soul.

Reconstruction

With the Juneteenth proclamation the slaves were free. More than 200,000 Blacks were cast adrift in one of the greatest social revolutions of all time. The first thought of the plantation Black was to pick up and go, but he had nowhere to go. Thousands jammed the roads and trails, wandering from county to county, finally crowding into the settlements where the Freedman's Bureau offices were being set up. This Bureau controlled all affairs affecting Blacks.

Meanwhile, Anglos were trying to gather together the pieces of a life that had vanished with the wind. Society, government, and the economy had been turned topsy-turvy by the monumental events of five short years, and no one seemed to have the power or know how to set life right again. He could not accept the world the war had left him and pre-war Texas was gone forever. Worst of all, Texas was no longer the victor as she had been always before. She was the vanquished; she was a sprawling, awkward state full of defeated men unable to live with either the conquerors or one another. Reconstruction would hammer Texas back into the Union, but Texans would carry the scars of that bitter process for more than a century.

Presidential Reconstruction

In July 1865, A. J. Hamilton, a former Texan who had supported the Union returned with a Presidential appointment as Governor. Jack Hamilton was an honest man whose one goal was to bring his state peacefully back into the Union.

At this time, Texas was under Presidential Reconstruction. Andrew Johnson, who had replaced Lincoln as President had set only three conditions for the reentry of the state into the Union. These were the abolition of slavery by law, the withdrawal of the Secession Ordinance of 1861, and the cancellation of all Confederate debts. Texas agreed, and once again became a state in June 1866, electing J. W. Throckmorton as Governor.

Military Reconstruction Replaces Presidential Reconstruction

Although Texas supposedly had obtained the full status of a state to be governed by popularly-elected officials, this, in truth, was not the situation. Federal military forces refused to leave Texas. In Washington the Radical-Republicans, a group of politicians who hated Johnson and the South with equal energy, had gained control of Congress and the army. Congress ignored Johnson's instructions to readmit the Southern states to the Union and the army refused to follow his orders to cease occupation of the South. Under these circumstances it was impossible for Throckmorton to govern Texas. Neither the governor, nor the local officials had any power. Lawlessness and confusion reigned. The final blow was passage of the First Reconstruction Act on March 2, 1867. It declared the new governments in Texas and the old Confederacy illegal and unsatisfactory and abolished them, and divided the South into a conquered region of five military occupation districts. Neither the Texas Revolution, nor the Indian conflict, nor the bloody days of the Civil War marked the most disastrous period in Texas history: it began now.

With J. W. Throckmorton out of the way, General Charles Griffin, military commander in charge of Texas, began to cleanse the state. Backed by continuing Reconstruction Acts from Congress, the U.S. Army carried out a purge of all state officials which reached deep down to the county level. Everywhere, officeholders with a Confederate past, from Congressmen to cemetery sextons, were dismissed. There were not nearly enough capable Unionists to go around, and many very questionable appointments were made.

In addition, any man who could not swear, on the Holy Bible, that he had never supported the Confederacy was denied the vote. Each local voter registration board was allowed to accept or reject applicants as the board saw fit. The boards were run by either Army officers or Union men. The result was that when Texas was again allowed to elect its own state officials in 1869, the majority of registered voters were either Unionists or Freedmen. These voters had their choice between two slates of candidates, those nominated by the Radical Republicans, and those chosen by the Conservative Republicans. The Democrats, at this time, were not allowed to organize.

Carpetbagger Rule

Men sarcastically called "Carpetbaggers" by the Texans, because all their worldly possessions fit into a suitcase, came from the North to convince these Freedmen to vote Radical Republican. They themselves hungered for political office and and power and intended to get both by winning the important new Black vote. They did so by telling the Blacks that all Conservative Republicans planned to reinslave them.[8] Thus, by denying the majority of Texans the vote and frightening others into agreement, the Radical Republicans elected their candidate, E. J. Davis, to the governorship in 1869.

Many Texans protested the election, claiming it made a mockery of justice, but Washington turned a deaf ear. The

Radical Republicans also controlled the national government at this time and were grimly intent on making the South pay for its mistakes. They knew that Radical rule could only be imposed in Texas by guns or fraud. Unable to okay the first method, they chose the second. Such was the mood of the day.

General Reynolds turned over governmental authority to the Davis regime on April 16, 1869. Davis, who was born in Florida in 1827 and had come to Texas in 1848, had one goal in life--to hold political office. He had lived along the Rio Grande where he had risen from Customs Collector to District Judge of Brownsville. In 1861 he had chosen to follow the Union and had spent the war either in exile in Mexico or fighting Rip Ford's Texas Cavalry. He had no reason to love Texas nor they him. By 1866, he was a leader of the group demanding that the vote be given to Freedmen and denied to ex-Confederates, and that Texas be divided. Now, in 1870, he was Governor of Texas.

E. J. Davis, Governor.--Davis' first official act was to extend his term of office one year. Davis next proposed and pushed through a number of bills most unusual in the nineteenth century. He set up a State Militia which could enlist any man between 18 and 45, and which was under his personal control. He also set up a State Police force, a body of 200 men who had power over all local law enforcers. He then gave himself the power to appoint all officials right down to mayors and district attorneys. Finally, he set up a press owned and run by the state. The word "police state" had not entered the English language at this time, but Davis and his men, doing what came naturally, created precisely such a monster.

The period was a weird combination of corruption and reform. For the first time the Black had received the vote but the men he selected did him little good. While the Radical Republicans, poor men with a real taste for money, voted themselves raise after raise, and gave away millions in state land and state money to the new railroads, they refused to find land for their poor supporters. Yet, on the other hand, they passed a homestead exemption law, which protected a man's home from tax collectors, and created a genuinely free public school system for the first time. In requiring attendance of all children between the ages of six and eighteen, without regard to race, the legislature was fifty years ahead of its time. However, even the good things were highly unpopular, because the regime itself was so unpopular.

The Taxpayers Revolt

The first opposition to the Davis crowd was carried almost entirely by Conservative Republicans. The Democrats were still afraid to organize. Conservatives protested the terrible corruption of the officials, and the dictatorial police acts. At this time the war was entering its most bitter phase in Texas. At the heart of this battle were the State Militia and the State Police. These were the most rotten acts of the Davis regime, and on this all have agreed, North and South, Democrat and Republican.

The first large resistance to the Carpetbaggers began in the summer of 1871. It was caused by the heavy taxation levied to support lawmaker, railroad, police and militia. United Republicans and Democrats held mass gatherings of Texas taxpayers in Austin. The convention demanded that elections be held in 1871, despite Davis's setting these aside. If the elections were not held the convention threatened to lead a taxpayer's revolt.

Not only did the Governor refuse to see any of the convention delegates, but he also led a counter-demonstration against the convention.

However, the taxpayers' revolt won out. It forced Davis to call for elections in 1871, rather than wait a year as scheduled by Davis in 1870.

The elections in 1871 were for Congress. Although armed State Police stood around every polling place, broke up political rallies and demonstrations and threw out thousands of votes on questionable grounds, the Democrats won every seat in the Legislature.

Davis himself had to run for reelection in 1873. By this time, the Democratic Legislature had made registration easier, and had nominated a famous Confederate veteran, Richard Coke, for governor. Conservative Republicans, as such, had disappeared, joining the Democrats.

Showdown at the Polls

E. J. Davis still had great power. He had thousands of appointed officeholders, the Black vote, and Federal influence. But the Democratic Party viewed the December election as a do or die effort.

In the election of 1873, the Democrats had learned the Republican game. Democrats bluntly stated that power would be won depending on who outsmarted whom. No practice was overlooked. Blacks organized by the Democrats were threatened with death by the Republicans. Democrats rode into Black settlements and, gun on hip, ordered Blacks to stay away from the polls. There was terror and some murders on both sides. White men in some counties pulled guns on Davis officials running the polls. Unregistered whites and boys years under the legal age voted. Men everywhere damned Republican rule and voted Democrat. Coke won, by more than two to one.

The great drama was not over. Davis, now claiming the election laws which he, himself, had passed, unconstitutional, had the state Supreme Court declare the entire election and every office-holder elected illegal.

The Democrats did not argue with the courts. They just ignored them. In January, Texas' new officials went to their offices and took over. Davis wired President Grant, asking him to send the National Guard. Grant, who knew the country as a whole was tired of military occupation in the South, and who had to face reelection himself, refused.

Now, in Austin, an explosive situation was developing. Richard Coke asked a group of friends, Confederate

General Henry McCulloch, the sheriff of Travis County, Zipleman, and Colonel John S. Ford, to help him take over the government peaceably. These men were local heroes and would control the public. All the Texans agreed that Davis would try to use an outbreak of fighting as an excuse for federal intervention. They decided to move quickly and quietly.

Armed citizens for Coke took possession of the legislative chambers in the Capitol building. They forced the Radicals to withdraw. Police action under Davis' orders and groups of armed Radicals gathered in the Capitol basement. Austin had divided into two armed forces with the old and new governors and legislatures both claiming to be the legal government.

Davis ordered out the local militia, only to see the company, surrounded by citizens led by Sheriff Zimpleman, go over to the other side. He telegraphed Grant again for troops. Grant refused. Davis now had the choice of either starting a war to hold his office or leaving peaceably. From his office he could see the stacked arms of the Texas Militia. Old Rip Ford, tall and grim, was marching toward the Capitol at the head of an armed, angry body of men. They were singing "The Yellow Rose of Texas" in a mightly roar.[9]

Davis surrendered. He did not present Coke with a key to the Capitol but that did not stop the excited Texans. They broke down the door, and Richard Coke went in. The Secretary of State, a die-hard Unionist was thrown from his desk.

The militia paraded with music to the Capitol, where a salute of 102 guns was fired. Coke addressed a wildly happy crowd from the Capitol steps.

The first phase of the Civil War in Texas was over. Texas had weathered five years of bloody battle and seven years of agonizing defeat. They had swallowed the bitter pill of Reconstruction in three doses: Presidential Reconstruction, Military Occupation, and finally, Carpetbagger Rule. The next phase was to last, at least, one hundred years.

NOTES

[1] Seymour V. Connor, Adventure in Glory (Austin, Texas: Steck-Vaughn Company, 1965), p. 237.

[2] Stephen B. Oates (ed.), The Republic of Texas (Palo Alto, California: American West Publishing Company, 1968), p. 61.

[3] Ibid.

[4] T. R. Fehrenbach, Lone Star (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 275.

[5] Ibid., p. 329.

[6] Ibid., p. 346.

[7] Ibid., p. 347.

[8] Ibid., p. 413.

[9] Ibid., p. 432.

CHAPTER X

TEXAS LEFT TO THE TEXANS

In January 1874, Richard Coke and his band of joyous Democrats at last controlled the State of Texas. Their celebration was to be short. They had inherited not the wind, but what the storm had left behind. Although the state was ruined economically, these losses could be restored. There was, however, political, judicial, and social damage no one could repair.

Texans now began a long, detailed and exhausting program that was actually a rebellion against government itself. Between 1874 and 1876 Texas turned its back on the nineteenth century. They had seen little of it which they liked, and now nursed a strong prejudice against the powers of government at any level.

Spending Cut

Wielding a wicked knife, they opened their battle by slashing state spending. Salaries were cut and school funds stopped. The farmers' government which had no taste for taxes, leased out convict labor for revenue and cut veterans' pensions. Hundreds of other little economies were adopted, and, although public welfare may have suffered, by 1879, Texas was once again out of debt.

Law and Order Restored

While the new legislature sliced away at costs, it took up other problems. Most important was the restoration of law and order, followed by the adoption of a new constitution. The Texas Rangers returned. Between 1874 and 1880, both on the Indian and Mexican borders, the Rangers enjoyed great days and were a spectacular success. Both Indians and unrest disappeared. Characteristically, the Rangers restored order first, then law.

A New Constitution

Delegates to a constitutional convention gathered in 1875. This convention consisted of old Texans, of frontier heroes, and of ex-Confederate officers. There were 41 farmers, 28 lawyers, 75 Democrats, and 15 Republicans, six of whom were Black.[1] This was a group determined to restore Texas to Texans and government to its somewhat minor position in the sprawling state.

Its first act was to reduce its own daily allowance to five dollars. Its second was to vote down a motion to have proceedings printed because a secretary cost ten dollars a day. Its third act was to write what was to remain the fundamental law of Texas to this day.

Texans Reduce Governmental Powers.--This was an anti-government constitution with the one purpose of making state government as weak as possible. The bicameral legislature was continued but the term of senators was shortened, requiring election every four years. Biennial sessions of the legislature won out over annual sessions. This was done, as one delegate said, "Because the more the d---- legislature meets, the more d--- bills and taxes it passes!"[2]

The overall idea was to give state government no room to act. The powers of the legislature were very limited. The Texas governor was made one of the weakest in the United States. He was given overwhelming responsibilities but few powers. All judges, all the way up to the Texas Supreme Court were to be elected, not appointed.

None of these actions were argued; they were what the people wanted. An amendment giving the women the right to vote was hooted down. The real argument in 1875 concerned the public schools. The convention finally agreed to support free, public education but actually did little to back up their word.

Texans Refuse to Support Education.--The state dropped its supervision of public schools turning control over to local authorities. Funds were not provided for school support and compulsory school attendance was dropped. The lands first set aside for the support of the public school and university systems, which had originally been in fertile north-central Texas, were now exchanged for poor, unsettled lands in the arid West. Here the school system seemed to suffer a loss, but it was to prove a great gain as the lands later proved to be rich in petroleum.

The constitutions of 1876 represented the older, agrarian South, not a modern industrial state. It would damage the slow industrialization and financial growth. It was a constitution designed to protect the farmer and not the businessman.

The Constitution of 1876 was also a very inefficient document which required a state-wide vote for even the smallest change. These changes were regularly voted down. A lasting idea that no legislature or governor was to be trusted kept society, given to whim and fancy rather than government or law, in control. The governor had no control over local sheriffs, who were swayed, naturally, by the local opinion; and the governor was made only equal, not superior to the legislature. A strong, popular governor could influence the voters, but no man on earth could really govern the state.

The Constitution of 1876 brought Texas into the modern world with very much the anti-central government attitudes of 1836, because in Texas these had not changed.

Reconstruction Brands Texas Philosophy

Other attitudes and philosophies of the time were as widespread and lasting, if not so easily recognized as the law.

The brand of politics born during Reconstruction and the trouble it has caused cannot be exaggerated. Great family and factional fueds in which men were shot in the twentieth century were produced by reconstruction politics. Near wars in Texas counties continued for years between Democratic and Republican groups, usually under other names. Pistols at the polls, ballot-stuffing, and even the theft of ballot boxes were common. Texas politicians began to despise Northern democracy. They respected the rule of order, not the rule of law. Texas politics, following Reconstruction, became more and more devoted to the seizure of power, unchecked by any belief or goal.[3]

Texas politicians sought power for power's sake and built personal, rather than party machines. This power, of course, because of the constitution and public feeling was used within limits.

Following Reconstruction there was also a hatred for the North and for the federal government. One result was that the Northern political party, the Republicans, was destroyed. The Republican's name after the reconstruction era was so despised that while off and on thousands of Texans voted Republican, they always called themselves Democrats.

Just as Texans rejected the North, they began to idealize the old Confederacy, Ex-Confederates were not labeled as losers but honored as heroes. In fact, it was next to impossible to be elected to anything unless the candidate had worn the gray.

Death of the Old South

However, the old South in Texas was dead. Ex-Confederates could be sent to Congress but the old plantation system could not be rebuilt. A new kind of farming existed in East Texas. The new system was called sharecropping.

It was a system by which landowners, now new men, provided seed, tools and housing to their tenants. The tenants, in turn, worked the land for one-half to one-third its yield. The system worked but had its flaws. Debts to the landowner ate up large chunks of the tenant's shares. He became bound to the land not by slavery, but by his debt. As long as he was in debt to the landowner, he could not leave his land.

Thousands of poor whites were pushed into sharecropping in these years. The Blacks had no choice. The federal government freed them in 1865; but at a time when the U.S. Congress could afford to spend 40 million dollars to build railroads, it could not find $10 million to buy land for the freedmen. The Black could not compete in white society even if the white had been willing to let him. He had no money, and could not, in most cases, read and write.

In addition, during the 1870's the U.S. Supreme Court chose to leave the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which guaranteed the Black his rights as a free man, up to the individual states. This cleared the way for Texas and other states to deny the Black his civil rights and suffrage by a number of devious methods ranging from the poll tax, to economic pressures, to literacy tests.

There had been a great and not glorious change in Texas after 1850. High noon was past. The watchwords of the revolution had been lost somewhere in the massacre of the Mexican American War. The houses, the towns, the rivers, remained but the old frontier democracy was dead. Whatever dream had made Texas the fastest-growing state died with it. From a hundred dusty, straggling little towns in eastern Texas some spark disappeared. Cotton still piled high on the docks, steamboats still hooted on the rivers. But the dream had been destroyed by the very men who had given it birth, the men who had carried Democracy in their pockets from the hills of Kentucky and Tennessee, who had demanded it for themselves, and who had finally denied it to others. Only the ghost remained.

Birth of the Cattle Kingdom

In 1875 a line could be drawn through the state of Texas, beginning on the Red River, south through Fort Worth to Bandera, and from there to the East along the Medina and Nueces Rivers to the Gulf at Corpus Christi. This was the farmers' frontier. West of this line, on the Great Plains covered in a grassy sea lay the cattleman's domain.

Here in Texas, that region of time, thought and place that Americans would call the old West, began. It was born as the old plantation culture died. It was to have little effect on Texas government, but it was to be very important to the Texas heart and mind. A handful of Texans adapted to their time and place, started a small business and ran it with a wild flare never equaled anywhere. They exploded not a business, but a new way of life across the entire North American West. They stamped a memory on the world that will never die. Say "Texas" anywhere and people say "Cowboy."

The cattle kingdom was based on the four essential elements of the Plains world; men, horses, wild cattle and the sea of grass. Two things gave it birth: the movement of the Mexican cattle culture across the Rio Grande, and the attachment of Texas to the booming industrial world of the northern United States. The cattle kingdom began in the Texas triangle below San Antonio, between Laredo, Corpus Christi and Brownsville on the Rio Grande.

The majority of the Anglo-Americans halted at the line where the water and wood ran out, which was where the Mexican cattle empires began. The prairies that would not grow corn were covered with layers of rich, thick grass. Mexicans lived in this land by raising goats, sheep and cows. This was a way of life Anglos knew nothing about. But in the 1840's and 1850's some men moved across the line. Kinney, Kenedy and King, all started as traders on the coast, bought land, and with the land, a part of the 24,000 wild cattle that roamed the Nueces Valley. Each began hiring vaqueros, both Mexican and Anglo, to work cattle and fight. These men built empires which teased men's spirits. They did not really create something new, they took over and built on a foundation that had been laid the century before by the Spaniard and the Mexican.

The Mexican horse complex was adopted first. The Texas Rangers, without understanding it, began to think like Mexicans and Indians about man and the horse. He began to consider his horse as more than mere transportation. The horse became the most important possession of man on the Texas plains. To learn to work cattle from horseback in the Mexican way was the next step. Finally, the entire culture was adopted: open range and cowboys, brands and language, and most important, the spirit of superiority and freedom. Here, even before the Civil War, something new was appearing, almost unseen.

The real explosion, however, came after the Civil War. Suddenly, giant cities had arisen in the North, hungry for meat. The wild Texas cattle were tough. They could walk to market, over thousands of miles, across rivers and sands. They made their own roads and the railroads came to meet them in Kansas. Their flesh, tough and stringy as it was, was good enough for Yankees, as the Texans said.

Of course, the Texans did not send their cattle North simply so Yankees could be better-fed. Behind the cattle-drive lay a much more potent idea--the profit motive. Practically all over the state longhorns could be had for about three dollars a head. For another dollar they could be gathered, branded, and driven to Kansas. There they could be sold for $10 to $14.[4] This was tremendous. With all this easy cash in sight it is no wonder that Captains King and Kelly, down in the Rio Grande Valley, thought up the tremendous idea of a gigantic trail, a thousand miles long, stretching from Brownsville to Dodge City.

On The Trail

Nothing like it has ever been seen anywhere on earth, nor anywhere on earth have men shown such patience in their search for wealth as did these Texans. They had to be patient because the dumb beasts had to be eased rather than driven along the trail. It was a trying business. Divided into herds of three or four thousand head each, with each herd strung out for several miles, the longhorns had to be allowed to graze as they traveled; whenever they came to water they had to stop; before dark they had to be rounded up; and then after they were all down, the night-hawkers had to keep riding around them and singing to them to keep them quiet until dawn. Twelve miles a day was good going.

But despite the patience of the cowboys and all the care they took, there was always the danger of a stampede. Most stampedes were caused by summer storms where ball lightning rolled across the prairie and popped from the horns of the cattle. This was truly a terrifying thing and the cattle responded in a terrifying manner. Even more frightening, at the peak of the season, it was not at all unusual for six or eight herds of three or four thousand animals each, each owned by a different man, to be moving along so close to one another that when one herd was whipped into a stampede others followed. The stampeding herds always mingled and formed one mighty, bellowing mass from which each owner with his cowboys would have to sort out his stuff. This was done according to brands and, as the brands were not always clear, at times the ownership of just one lone steer would be settled with a six-shooter. Then at least one poor cowboy, who had been dreaming about the good time he was going to have in Dodge would never get there.

Dodge City, The Cowboys' Mecca

But his friends did. Tired, dirty and dry, their pockets bulging with the pay they had not been able to spend for perhaps three or four months, they would ease their herds up to the bank of the Arkansas River. On the other side lay the world of their dreams, The Cowboy Capital, the Toughest Town in the World, Dodge City.

Most of the cowboys would not do anything but go to town, buy a lot of new duds, liquor up, and then as long as their pay lasted, have a "fine, ole time" letting the gamblers take it away from them. Some, however, won a lasting place for themselves in the tales of Dodge City.

For instance, there was the young man from Kenedy County, not a mere cowboy, mind you, but the ranch heir himself who happened to drift into the biggest bar in town just when Dora Hand was about to sing. Dora, beautiful, sweet, lovely, and faithless, could really sing! As she launched into "Home Sweet Home" the rattle of the poker chips, the whir of the roulette wheel, and the tinkle of glasses would come to a stop. Even the meanest bartender and the toughest buffalo hunter would be moved to tears.

Many men always loved Dora but at this time only two were in the running. One was Mr. Doc Kelly, the mayor of Dodge, who was also the owner of the saloon where Dora worked; the other was the young heir to the Kenedy spread. This was bad. It meant blood and bad luck for somebody. It came unexpectedly when the young Texan, depressed and lonely, loaded up his Winchester, wandered over to the house of his rival, and pumped 16 bullets through the wall of the house. The Mayor of Dodge was safe, but Dora was not; she was dead. Then what happened? Nothing. Young Kenedy had not been gunning for his girl, but for Doc Kelly. Therefore Dora's death was marked up as purely accidental. The accident: Dora was in the wrong place at the wrong time.[5]

Texas, Reborn

All of this was part of the splendid seventies: a new era and a new dream had been born. Men toiled, brawled, and celebrated a rebirth of frontier spirit. For on those cherished Western plains, on land coveted, claimed and lost by five nations, Texas replaced the cotton empire of the slave South with a cattle kingdom. In the West, for the first time in the nineteenth century, parts of the North and South met and merged. In Abilene, Wichita, and Dodge, Texas cowboys tried to refight the Civil War with careful, deadly, killer-Marshalls. They rode horses into saloons, galloped with six-shooter blazing along the dusty streets and were as wild and dangerous as the longhorns they drove to market. But they were also businessmen after the Yankee dollar. They sold beef, drank whiskey and made deals with Yankee shippers and dealers. They built new ties. Of course, the great majority of Texans were then and for years afterward Southern farmers, but out West, beyond the 98th meridian the Plains sun "burned through the fog and lifted the burdens of the southern history." The cattle kings rode out to sell beef but they changed the image of the state.[8]

In addition, Texas changed the image of the entire West. Texas cattle and Texas know-how passed across 12 western states from New Mexico to Montana. This was because Texas gave, not only a business, but an entire way of life to the American West. The cow culture adopted from the Mexican, was the only Anglo process that adapted to, rather than destroyed, the land. The cowmen used and loved the land almost as much as the Indian had. In the developing culture a code evolved which opened the land and the water to all. The Anglo-Saxon idea that anyone should own water was abandoned in a land where rain fell spottily and where surface water was needed by all.

Instead, the cowboy adopted the Sapnish-Mexican codes which allowed all to use the water and the land.

The Cowboy Culture which actually involved few was extremely important to the American West and to the United States as a whole. Of course, it was brought directly from Mexico, but the acceptance and expansion was amazing. Cowmen came from everywhere; from Scotland to New York to Montana. For the first time Anglos learned the country's ways rather than destroying the country to fit their own prejudices.

More important, these cowmen, their tools and their lives, were to become symbols to all Americans. The United States at this time was scarred by the hatred of the Civil War. The cattle culture was neither Northern nor Southern; it was American. A land deeply wounded had finally accepted rather than destroyed another people, and another culture and they had been reborn because of it. The West had a lesson to teach, just at the time when transportation and means of communication were being developed to carry the story across the entire nation. Later thousands of Americans would dress as cowboys, hoping to recapture the Western spirit.[7] They would wear cowboy boots while driving their automobiles to the drugstore and never know that they, too, sought a freedom from binding and artificial habit and a harmony between man and the earth.

The Decline of the Cattle Culture

As quick as its amazing expansion, was the cattle culture decline. It lasted for less than 30 years and was dead by 1895. The Industrial Revolution and the mass of people to the East enslaved it as surely as they had destroyed the Indians, though they used different methods.

Two inventions, the windmill and the barbed wire fence, destroyed the seas of grass. Now each rancher could stay in place, irrigate his land, and fence off his stock and his water from all others. There were no more cattle drives nor great roundups; wire enclosed the prairies, windmills stood guard, and rails pushed everywhere in the West.

Later men would never understand nor be able to imagine the beautiful views which caused men to compare the Great Plains to an ocean. First they were scarred by ugly wire and rails and later disappeared in swirling dust storms for which both farmers and ranchers who failed to protect their land were responsible. More people could live in the land, working it and destroying it, and that had always been the Anglo dream.

The older, wiser cowmen sold off part of their lands, helped to develop towns, and served as the first bankers and lawyers of these towns. In one lifetime they had seen a culture rise and fall. They later told tales of Indians, of good men, of bad men, of trail drives. Others heard these tales, were fascinated by them, but would never completely understand.

War Against the Fences

The last stand of the cowmen was against the fences. The men who loved free range saw the cruel wire come with horror. In 1884, Mr. John W. Gates, who made so much money out of barbed wire that he became known as "Betcha-a-million" Gates, showed the really big cowmen of Texas that they could fence in the best grazing land in Texas, lay claim to the best watering places, and crowd out all the little cowmen who were their competition. They bought carload after carload of barbed wire, and strung thousands of miles of it all over Texas. Immediately trouble broke loose.

The smaller cowmen who objected to losing grass and especially water that had long been theirs, cut their way out of the problem. They did this with long-handled wire cutters, and sometimes destroyed hundreds of miles of fences in a few days. But fence-cutting had never been a crime in Texas.

Water and land according to ancient Spanish law, had belonged to all. So the big land barons, backed by their cowboys, declared open war on the wire cutters.

It was a real shooting war. There is no telling how many men died of it while it raged. "Oxcart John" Ireland, so-called because he liked oxcarts better than railroads, was then governor. He was in a tight spot. The big cowmen wanted a law to protect them and the little ones shouted, "Free grass and no favortism." However, violence on the prairies was spreading like a grass fire, and Ireland finally had to call a special session of the Legislature. They quickly made fence-cutting a criminal offense. In fact, even today, it is illegal to carry fence cutters in one's car or on one's horse. Oxcart John now had the unpleasant task of enforcing the law. He did so by ordering the Rangers to move into the battle areas and stop the slaughter. They did so, quickly and efficiently. The large cattleman had gained the victory but the fenced pastures no longer looked like empires, and the victors were no longer kings.

The land, of course, remained, large, brooding, endless. Men came and built their towns and their fences, leaving scars upon the vast terrain. Yet, something of the outlook and the psychology of the Westerner lingered to tease man's memory and taunt his imagination. This land changed men, even the stubborn Anglo, more than they changed it and maybe more than they will ever admit.

Trimph of Industrialism

Nevertheless, in the end, the Industrial Revolution triumphed and established economic success as the main goal in U.S. life. The cotton kingdom vanished because it never involved enough men even to make a fight. The industrialized North, better-populated and better-organized, became more powerful than the South and Southwest, and hence, directed U.S. policy according to its special economic needs.

Texas Remains Agrarian

After Washington allowed Texas to exterminate the Indians and disfranchise the Blacks, she ignored the struggling giant. Cotton and cattle, through money and tariff regulations, were forced to serve the industrial North, and social and economic problems in Texas were ignored. The coming of the railroad and the rule of Eastern finance did not industrialize Texas. She stayed far behind the nation, battling new problems in place of the old.[8]

Texas was not industrial, she was totally agrarian. This agrarian society was to suffer from serious problems in the last part of the nineteenth century. The agrarian problem was either ignored or misunderstood by the greater nation after the Civil War. Industrialization was the overpowering ideal, all else was overlooked or made to serve the industrial state.

During the 1870's and 1880's, however, the agrarian society of Texas was successful, and the state developed enormously. The development, though, was strictly along the old farming lines. The two reasons for the development were: first, a heavy immigration, mostly from the South, and second, a cycle of rainy years.

At this time cities in Texas were small. Galveston was the largest city in Texas. It had about 22,000 people. San Antonio, which at this time had more Germans than Mexican-Americans, was next with 12,000 persons. Houston was third in size, with 9,000 people, and Austin, with 5,000, was fourth. In these years Dallas, Fort Worth, and El Paso were all small frontier towns, but the people of the state were now rapidly pushing West. The last great tide of Anglo immigration into Texas had arrived.

Coming of the Farmer

A number of causes combined, bringing a new immigration of Anglos. First, the old planters and those who inherited the cotton plantations needed labor to work their land and replace the newly-freed slaves. Second, the state government encouraged immigration both to build up East Texas farm areas and to settle the West Texas frontier, still plagued by Indian attacks. Articles were printed all over the South that a man "needed no money to secure him a good farm in almost any part of Texas, all a man needed was good character, industrious habits, and one or two boys . . .[9]

Throughout the ruined South people welcomed the call. Everyone knew someone who had "struck it rich" in Texas--or at least had heard of someone who had. The rumor spread that Texas was so fertile that all a man had to do was plant a cigar to get a congressman or a whale-bone corset and get a choir singer.[10] Thousands of poor whites in Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky and even Iowa and Illinois, took one look at their poor surroundings, picked up, and headed West. More than 10,000 persons, bound for Texas, passed through Memphis in 1870, and more than 100,000 newcomers arrived in 1871. The population doubled in ten years.

The immediate effect of this "entrada" was great prosperity. Cotton production doubled and railroad mileage tripled. Acres and acres of property were added to the tax rolls. Farmers came first, wagon roads, cotton gins, saw mills, rice mills, and sugar mills followed. The vast majority of Texans were still poor, but this feverish activity gave a prosperous glow to Texas which had long-since faded in the rest of the South.

One Texan, taking the time to describe his rolicking, prosperous state, demonstrates that economic well-being had indeed brought new life to Texans. One man from the small town of Goldthwaite was having his horses' hoofs polished every morning by the hotel bootblack and celebrating every night in San Angelo. From one Sunday-school class in Knickerbocker, came a whole gang of outlaws and from another farming community came a talented young man, who for the first time in history, held up a train single-handed.

The dramatic event of the year was the coming of Molly Bailey's show , which was more successful than any of the hundreds of medicine man and magicians then touring Texas, because the girls never worried about picking the guests' pockets for extra profit. Men everywhere were talking about Clay McGonegal, who broke the steer-roping record, of Dick, the demon who traveled all over Texas throwing steers with his teeth, and of Nick Hughes, who traded his flock of 4,000 sheep for a merry-go-round.[11]

This was Texas, a tremendously busy Texas, whose roads were crowded with buggies, wagons, burros, and horses, and even with a strange new invention called a bicycle. On this strange contraption some women in Dallas, Fort Worth and Houston even dared to ride in bloomers! However, in El Paso, where men were more careful of women's legs, lawmakers quickly passed a law forbidding females to wear pants, britches, or trousers in public.

All of this the farmers saw as they looked at Texas, a land which seemed to have rediscovered health and prosperity. Good fortune, though, was short-lived.

Trouble for the Farmer

This hopeful immigration was the very root of much human tragedy. The problem was double: first, the Anglo-American believed he could conquer any country, and second, there was little water and rain. Texas papers rarely mentioned dryness anywhere. The state government even had arid regions described in official reports and geography books as only "less humid."[12] The reason is obvious. Climatically speaking, the arid regions of Texas make up exactly one-half of the state. The state wanted to attract immigrants, but the Southern Anglos had no experience in working arid land. Texas, of course, was reluctant to scare them away. The cattle culture, borrowing heavily from Indians and from Mexico, had adapted to the dry plains. The swarm of later immigrants neither wanted nor knew how to adapt to the country. They intended to adapt the country to their use.

The early 1880's began a series of wet years, with greater than average rainfall. But, in spite of prayers and protests, dry years always followed wet. People pushed into the plains; they found them covered with buffalo grass or beautiful with red and yellow wild flowers. They did not understand the horror of the summer sun, sucking moisture from plowed earth, or the wild winds that carried off tons of dirt.

By 1890 these immigrants had plowed most of the West. But, completely ignorant of the land and its ways, they failed miserably. They were crushed by drouth and swarms of grasshoppers. Millions of dollars were lost and thousands of lives wasted. There is an old grim joke that says the tracks West are littered by tin cans, and those East, only by jack-rabbit bones and lark feathers. Thousands of families retreated back to other areas, broken and bitter in spirit. Yet new immigrants kept coming, hopeful to win their fortune in the West. The Anglo was determined. He held on and fought, tearing the seas of grass to dust.

The Anglo American believed strongly in his inevitable progress. Hadn't he won the entire North American West by sheer willpower? Didn'the Industrial Revolution produce the windmill and barbed wire just in time? How could he lose?

But lose he did. His philosophy of sure success was continually encouraged by politicians who wanted the farmer to populate Texas. No governmental agency in Texas tried to discourage men from farming on the harsh, arid frontier. Instead, blinded by their own desire for more money in Texas, they urged him to come.

And families kept coming and failing. Then the long drouths of 1886 and 1887 arrived. These years spread disaster across the wide new farm belt. Some families actually starved.

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Those who survived saw their income dwindle to nothing. Texas farmers, a race that generally thought of itself as free, equal and middle-class, was being ground deep into debt.

The Farmers Organize

As the farmer became more and more miserable he began to notice that those who administered, if not controlled, his unhappiness were the land companies, railroads, and banks. The farmer believed that the best land was being "hogged" by the railroads; that the land companies charged ridiculous and immoral interest rates; that the railroads charged too much for everything; and that every middleman, whether he be cotton ginner or merchant, was out to "suck his blood." To a certain extent these things were true. But the real problem was that the small farmer simply could not earn a living in Texas at this time. He could not even raise enough cotton to pay his debts.

The farmer suspected that the whole system was against him and hated all capitalists. Mixed up in his beliefs and views was also a rising push to outlaw alcohol. Meanwhile, the fact that the great mass of people were poor and resentful, while the new class of wealthy were not well-established, had its effect in politics. A new type of politician was born embodied in the Attorney General of Texas, James Stephen Hogg.

James Hogg and the New Politics

Hogg was an orphan, who had obtained no formal schooling. He worked as a printer until he could enter the practice of law, and, highly ambitious, chose politics as his field. As Attorney General of Texas, he declared war on big business in every form from insurance companies to the railroads. He was the first man in the nation to attack and subdue the octopus-like railroads and public utility corporations. Hogg's theory was that if Texas did not rule the corporations, the corporations would rule and ruin Texas. On that platform he ran for governor in 1890.

Hogg's opponent, Webster Flannagan, was backed by every newspaper, every capitalist, every corporation, every large merchant, and every banker in Texas. But Hogg knew there were more poor men in Texas than any other kind, and to them he spoke. His speech was earthy and he spoke out against everything the dirt farmer hated. He could hold a crowd of

Texas farmers for hours, blasting railroads, fat capitalists, insurance companies and gold. He praised the simple life and the men who worked the soil. "He threw off his coat and worked up sweats; he dropped his suspenders and splashed water over his brow, got his second wind, and went on to new heights amid cheers."[13] He won by a huge victory.

Hogg Elected Governor

In office Hogg filed suit after suit against the corporations. When there was no law to support his fight, he made one. Governor Hogg's laws were strong laws. They had truth in them. Hence, even in hard times Hogg remained a popular hero. He was always careful to appear colorful and a friend of the common man. In spite of large-money opposition, he won a second term as governor.

But Hogg was the farmers' champion, not a farmer himself. He knew how to survive in politics, whom to fight and with whom to make a deal. In fact, he ended up quite rich.

Hogg's Texas Democratic Party represented the local interests as well as debt-ridden farmers. It was made up of all sorts of men. It included many powerful figures such as beef-buyers and cotton ginners, landlords, lawyers and bankers.

It represented land and money as well as the dirt farmers. These money-men, like the poor farmers, wanted to control the powerful railroads and Yankee businesses. However, when the farmers attacked Texas businessmen, they became too radical for Hogg and his Democrats. It was understandable that farmers who had not seen money for years began to despise those who seemed to work less and earn more. But such ideas went beyond Hogg's politics.

People's Party of Texas

The farmers split with the Texas Democratic Party and in 1892, among the limestone hills of Lampasas, formed the People's Party of Texas. Quickly, the People's Party exploded from Texas to Nebraska, from Arkansas to Virginia. The People's Party attacked the system furiously, hitting at the "middlemen," and everything Eastern. In an attempt to win the Black vote, they fanned white hatred, prejudice, and fear. As a result, racism flared and the Black, first by practice, and later by law, was denied every Constitutional right. Then good times returned, the establishment adopted enough Populist programs to weaken their cause, and as quickly as the People's Party rose, it faded. By 1898 it was dying; by 1900 it had disappeared.

The failure of the People's Party dampened the desire for reform politics in Texas. Few bright-eyed heroes, shouting reform would ever again attempt real change. Democratic politicians had adopted enough Populist programs to steal the thunder form the People's Party. However, following Hogg, they learned the trick was to talk the language of the common man without offending any local money interests in the process. They learned to live and let live where local business interests were concerned. After all, no matter how democratic his image, nor how commonfolk his manner, a politician could not win without the financial support of big money in Texas.

Texas Politicians Learn a Lesson

Texas politicians, after the time of Populism, were Democratic, popular, and practical. They had to find issues to catch public interest, but an old Texas political proverb read, "Don't spit in the soup, we all got to eat." No Texan in the twentieth century would try to spit in the soup. All would try to share the spoils. That was the American Dream, which the Populists, the Capitalists, and Jim Hogg equally sought.[14]

N O T E S

[1] T. R. Fehrenbach, Lone Star (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 434.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 435.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 438.

[4] Owen P. White, Texas, An Informal Biography (New York: G. P. Putnams' Sons), p. 165.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

[6] Fehrenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 559.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 561

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 595.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 603.

[10] White, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[12] Fehrenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 605.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 621.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 631.

CHAPTER XI

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Texas entered the twentieth century with its society about sixty years behind the development of the United States. Industry had barely begun, and few Texans had either the desire or the means to initiate it. Texas speech was becoming picturesque because it retained earthy expressions long-since forgotten by Northern city dwellers. Early nineteenth century ideas had not changed in Texas. During a century of explosive conquest and settlement, the land changed very little, and the people not at all.[1]

Also, the enormous gulf between Texas and Eastern capitalist Industrialization caused by the Civil War and the Democratic-Populist movement remained. A sense of Texan separatism, which other Americans did not share and could not understand, continued and even increased for some years after the turn of the century. There were two reasons. First, Texas was a vast country with most of its people not in contact with the United States. Second, after the end of the nineteenth century for several years there was no large immigration into Texas. This was to have a tremendous effect. There were to be no non-Anglo-American influences for thirty years, and, since the cities grew slowly, Texans in the twentieth century would be far closer to the land.[a]

The Democratic Party, too, kept and strengthened many of the Populist traits it had assumed during the late nineteenth century. The Democrats were anti-Republican, antitrust, and anticapitalist, as far as Northern capitalism was concerned, but not against developing corporations and businesses in Texas. It was a party encouraging compromise at all times. It was pragmatic, unidealistic, and it worked.

Coming of Prohibition

The Populists, weakened and rejected by the Democrats, put all their old energy into the prohibition issue. In other words, they wanted to ban all alcoholic beverages from within the borders of Texas. The farming counties in Central and West Texas were enthusiastically dry. On the other hand, the towns, and South Texas, with its German Mexican influence, could not understand the anti-alcohol frenzy.

The election of 1911 was fought almost entirely on the alcohol issue. Democrats on each side condemned each other bitterly. The brewery industry, which had become an important interest in the state, raised more than $2,000,000 in campaign funds, supporting drinking candidates no matter what their politics. The same year a referendum supporting prohibition lost by no more than 6,000 votes. Nevertheless, a few years later prohibition, wrapped in the robes of patriotism, was victorious. First, saloons selling liquor to soldiers were closed. Then in a burst of wartime frenzy liquor was completely banned from Texas in 1918, and the argument was ended for awhile.

Pa Ferguson

The year 1914 marked the appearance of the most colorful governor since Jim Hogg. This was James E. Ferguson. If there was any man who understood what practical Texas politics meant, it was James Ferguson. His record proves it. He was elected governor; he was re-elected; he was impeached and barred from ever again holding office in the state. That did not stop him. He just had his wife elected to two terms as governor and ruled through her. This is unusual. There is nothing else like it in American history. Ferguson's success was responsible for providing Texas for the next twenty-two years with the strangest line of governors it had ever had. His career is worth examining.

Ferguson was a lawyer, and the owner of a bank, an abstract company, and a large breeding ranch. He was no enemy of big money. So when he decided he wanted to add Texas to his holdings, he told city newspapers that there was room for both the rich and the poor in Texas, and that the rich deserved to have their money protected. At the same time he made the Texas Liquor Dealer's Association happy by promising if elected governor, he would veto any anti-liquor bill. By both these statements, Ferguson gained important support and, as investigation would later prove, important money.

Then, calling himself "Farmer Jim," he headed for the country, where as "a suspender-snapping, tobacco-chewing son of the soil," he promised to pass a law limiting the landlord's share of the crop to one-fourth of the cotton and one-third of the grain. This fell like welcome rain on share-croppers' ears. Drouth, a national depression, and the European War had sent cattle and cotton prices tumbling down, and thousands of farmers were bankrupt. Farmer Jim talked their language and promised relief. Little did they know the Constitution prohibited him from keeping his promise.

With city money and country votes, Ferguson swamped his prohibitionist opponent, James Ball, and was inaugurated governor of Texas in January of 1915. There, standing on the platform and gazing out over a sea of sunburned, upturned farmer's faces, Jim Ferguson said, in a voice choked with emotion,

> If you love me as I love you
> No knife can cut our love in two.[3]

This is a fact, and with that stirring speech the new governor took over his job. Ferguson was as clever as Hogg. In office he was spectacular and seized attention by freeing convicted criminals by the hundreds. Not only was this popular, but it also saved the taxpayers money. He kept his promise to veto any liquor laws by not allowing any to be passed, thus keeping the brewers behind him. He did the same thing with the farmers by having their bill passed. That it was immediately overturned by the Supreme Court as Ferguson knew it would be, made no difference. The farmers stuck to him anyhow, with the result that when he ran again, in 1916, he was again victorious.

It was right at the beginning of Governor Jim's second term that the trouble started. It was a great show. Early in 1917 the Governor, who had always told his down-home followers that "he believed in spending more money on red school houses for their kids, than on the university for the sons of the high-toned rich folks,"[4] vetoed the University Appropriation Bill and with the veto sent in a message that was a real terror. Governor Jim said the President of the University of Texas should be fired because he was a "sectarian minister," other members of the faculty were "crooks and liars," and the rest were "mere payroll padders."[5] Now an argument over money between conservative state officials and university educators was commonplace, but firing a president was quite another thing. Here, Ferguson made a mistake.

The students and faculty of the university went into battle. They mobbed the Governor, both at the Capitol and in the Mansion, they made faces at him, they jeered him, and worst of all, they investigated him. Many interesting facts developed. For example, and to cite only one, it was shown that Governor Jim, having found himself in a financial mess, had loaned himself nearly all the money in his Temple Bank.

The breweries had helped out, too, by loaning him $165,000 in cash, $30,000 of which lay unguarded for weeks in a drawer in a wooden desk in the Capitol. This definitely looked shady. Many Legislators already knew all about Farmer Jim, but had decided to overlook his quirks, not wanting "to spit in the soup." However, with hundreds of howling students making embarrassing accusations, they were forced to act.

Ferguson was found guilty by the House on 21 charges, by the Senate on 10, and on September 24, 1917, he was pitched headlong out of office and forever disqualified from holding any office in the State of Texas.

In the pragmatic farmers' democracy of Texas, however, this would not stop Ferguson for long.

Texas Regains Power in National Politics

These practical Texas Democrats found a secure place for themselves in national politics about the turn of the century. Texas was not only totally Democratic, but it also was becoming the largest Democratic state in the Union. This gave Texas Senators and Congressmen a bigger wallop in Washington than almost anyone else. First, one-party politics, where men built personal, not party, machines kept the men in national office for years. Two-party states regularly threw one set of representatives out, electing their opponents. Texas office-holders represented a large number of voters and were awarded the power and prestige demanded by such a position. Charles A. Culberson was sent to the Senate in 1899, and remained there twenty-two years.. A number of other Texans, such as Garner, Rayburn, and Johnson, were to be there many more years. These Texans gained great seniority in Congress, a body in which power depended on seniority. A long string of Texans became party leaders in each house, while others gained control of major committees where they could use real power. Running through the Texan people and their national representatives was the realism of men who distrusted causes but held a deep respect for power and the uses of power. This made many Texans, ignorant and backward as they seemed, more than a match for other men.

In fact, in 1912 the Texas delegation to the Democratic convention was largely responsible for their Southern-born favorite, Woodrow Wilson, winning the nomination as the Presidential candidate.[8] Once in office, Wilson never forgot it.

He appointed Texans to the prominent positions of Postmaster General, Attorney General, Secretary of Agriculture, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. More important than any of these men Wilson brought to Washington as his personal advisor the quiet but extremely powerful Texas politico, E. M. House.

One can only guess how much House influenced Wilson's thinking. One thing is certain. Strong signs of Texan attitudes appeared in Wilson's relations to Latin America. The Wilson Administration was eager to move into Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Mexico, either to uphold the flag, or "clean the place up." The Texan attitude toward Latin America, born out of continued clashes with Mexico, was not really hostile; it was one of continuously wanting to dominate. The Wilson Administration plus Texan contempt, stirred up a generation of fear and hatred below the Rio Grande.[7]

World War I

Texas hostility, however, turned from Mexico in 1917 and directed itself at Germany upon U.S. involvement in World War I. Texas was far ahead of the nation as a whole in its warlike attitude. The support for Wilson's declaration of war was amazing. Volunteers came forward in huge numbers. Almost 200,000 Texans served in the armed forces between 1917 and 1919. Because large areas of the state were well-suited to military camps, with a mild climate and open territory, the war brought many large military bases to Texas. At Kelly Field, Texas became the home of United States military aviation. More than 5,000 Texans died in World War I, a full ten percent of all combat casualties, and much more than the Texas share by population percentage.

Patriotism Legalizes Prejudices

In 1917 Texas joined with the United States in a tremendous burst of American-flag worship, behind a government and President who spoke the Texan language. The Texas Legislature made criticism of the flag, the government, its officers, its policies and even the Yankee uniform a criminal offense. The Legislature suggested that all books favorable to Germany be destroyed and that the study of German be dropped in the schools. There was a nasty persecution of families with German names, some of whom had been in the United States for 150 years.

This grew to apply to all foreigners in general. The election codes were changed to stop voting by the foreign-born for the first time in Texas. English was required in the schools. Up to this time Spanish had been permitted. The same legislature wrote the "white primary" codes, which excluded Blacks from the Democratic Party by law. For the first time the Scotch-Irish immigrants who had come out of Appalacia with personal constitutions in their pockets, and a determination to change rather than be changed were legalizing their prejudices.

This "America for the Americans" hysteria quite naturally led to local demonstrations of Anglo chauvinism. About 1921, the Ku Klux Klan reappeared in Texas. Claiming an attempt to make the world safe for Anglo-American democracy, they whipped up anti-Catholic, anti-Jew and anti-Black sentiments. Although many Texans knew no Catholics and had rarely seen a Jew, thousands joined because the Klan claimed it stood for "law and order." The Klan actually dared punish only those who had no power. Their loud, verbal assault, and rabble-rousing membership finally did no more than raise a tremendous anger in those who did have money and power. A violent political reaction was brewing.

Return of Pa Ferguson

And the one man who could always smell the wind and scent an issue was on hand to take advantage of the times. Jim Ferguson, way out in Lometa, Texas turned to his friend, T. H. McGregor and said, "Mac, what would you think about my wife running for governor?"

"It could be done," answered McGregor, "I've heard of a man running a grocery store in his wife's name, so why not run Texas that way?"[9]

Farmer Jim thought on the matter and shortly afterward Texas broke out in a broad grin when Ferguson entered his wife's name in the governor's race as an anti-Ku Klux Klan candidate. But this was no laughing matter. Ma Ferguson in a bitter contest wrested the race away from the Klan candidate, Robertson by some 100,000 votes. In January 1922, Ma Ferguson was inaugurated as the first woman governor of Texas.

Ma Becomes Governor

Ma Ferguson provided the color Ferguson had to have. Just by being in office, she was news. But Ferguson, himself, was governor in everything but name. He was appointed to the powerful highway commission which gave out juicy contracts; he governed from the Mansion. All this caused criticism from some, but it provided Texas with endless fun. Ma Ferguson and her husband were favorites of all those Texans who confused real democracy with being "common as an old shoe."

Ma Ferguson's administration was not only conservative, it was totally ineffective. The Fergusons did not even fight the Klan. They did not have to, because the Klan simply faded away. Ma was to be remembered mainly for one thing: the largest use of the pardon in Texas history. She pardoned or freed 2,000 convicts in twenty months, in some cases before the prisoner even reached the penitentiary. Her husband, she admitted, did this. He was accused of selling pardons, but the real squabble came when his paper, The Ferguson Forum, began to carry a good deal of advertising paid for by highway contractors. This looked bad but nothing came of it until one of the contractors began doing his work with machinery that belonged to the state.

This was too much. Everybody got excited; everybody, that is, except Jim Ferguson. He quietly told the curious people who wanted to inspect his records to get out and stay out. But they did not. With the help of Attorney General Dan Moody, the records were investigated; with the result that several, shady contracts were cancelled, while more than a million dollars that had been drained from the State Treasury was poured back into it. How much of this robbery had gone on? No one knew. If Pa was not being accused of doing one thing, he was being accused of doing another: of selling pardons, of selling jobs, of bribing contractors, and even of hiring out convicts and putting the money in his own pocket. He was never proven guilty, but when Ma's first term ended and he ran her again, this time against Dan Moody, who based his campaign on bringing honesty back to state government, she received such a beating that Jim Ferguson's enemies said he was at last forever through.

Dan Moody

Moody was young, able, and truly determined to reform state government. He was popular and easily won three terms, but the people continuously ignored his ideas. A strong state government was needed to direct reform and this, the Texans refused. They kept their local governments powerful, like those planned by the Constitution of 1789, much more than did the rest of the nation or most of the states.

Moody, like the Fergusons, was a type of governor that appeared over and over agin in Texas politics. The candidate whose campaign centered around a gimmick was followed by a more dignified man who promised better government. But regardless of who was elected, little changed. The people liked fun and fury in politics, but few wanted change. Power and money interests were blamed but the real resistance lay in the basic conservatism of the Texan race. Despite economic growth during the twentieth century, politics remained the same. The political history of Texas through the first seventy years of the twentieth century is the story of governors who sought moderate, reasonable, and needed reforms which the legislators and electorate would not accept.[10]

Depression of 1929

The tremendous financial collapse of 1929 in the East did not really hit Texas until 1931, when European cotton markets dried up. Then Texas fell with the whole nation into depression and economic chaos. Even worse, a disastrous dry spell hit Texas, evicting thousands of families from the soil. Farm prices, mineral prices, and the infant industrialization of Texas all deteriorated. Demands for public services rose, while revenues fell. Taxes became almost uncollectable.

Ross Sterling, Governor

Ross Sterling of Houston had won the governorship in 1930, running as a businessman who promised a businesslike administration. However, in office he was swamped by the continuing economic collapse that no man, not even the President of the United States, could stop. He had to veto law after law passed by the legislature simply because the State Treasury had no money and no hopes of raising any.

The Fergusons Come Again

By 1932, economic discontent spilled over into politics. Sterling tried for reelection but that indomitable and omnipresent couple again sniffed and scented their issue. Ferguson offered his wife for the governorship, with the statement, "When Ma is governor, I'll be on hand picking up the chips and bringing in water for Mama."[11]

How could the Texans resist such an offer. Despite violent efforts by Sterling, former governor Moody and the whole Democratic establishment, Ma won by a few hundred votes out of a million cast.

So Ma went back to pardoning prisoners; the legislature remained hostile; and financial problems grew worse. County governments were collapsing everywhere and the state had to take over their debts. People were demanding less taxation just when the state most needed money for public relief. The problems, in fact, were so bad that the Fergusons withdrew from politics, once and for all, in 1934.

James V. Allred

James V. Allred became governor in 1935. He had few solutions for the overwhelming problems and most certainly would have failed except that with the coming of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal Texas was able to turn over seventy percent of its public service costs to the Federal government.

Texans Prominent Under Roosevelt

In this era, as it always did during Democrat regimes, the influence of Texans in Washington increased. John Nance Garner became Speaker of the House in 1931, and Vice President through Roosevelt's first two terms. Jesse Jones, Houston millionaire, was very powerful, first as Administrator of the Federal Loan Agency and then as Secretary of Commerce. By 1933 Texans in the House were head of six of the most important committees. In the Senate Texan influence on military and foreign affiars was strong through Senators Sheppard and Connally. As a group, the Washington representatives were amazingly successful in one goal. They obtained for Texas money far exceeding its share according to population. Since the 1930's appropriations to Texas have topped the national average by 27 percent.[12] Texans generally believed that Texas had gotten a dirty deal after the Civil War. Hiding this attitude behind a big hat, high boots, and a folksy image Texas politicians in Washington from Garner to Johnson learned to manuever toward "setting things right" behind Congressional doors.

World War II

In 1939 when World War II rumbled in Europe, and Roosevelt waited, Texas sentiment enthusiastically called for war. Gallup polls, taken at this time, showed Texans were the most belligerent people in the United States against Germany and Japan.[13] Long before Pearl Harbor exploded into full-scale war, Texans were joining the armed services, and many had gone to Canada in order to enter the war sooner.

During the war years, Texan casualties demonstrate their enthusiasm. Texas held five percent of the U.S.

population; it provided seven percent of the total armed forces; and its war dead exceeded seven percent of the total killed in action. Texas was the army's largest training ground. A cotton farmer from Farmersville named Audie Murphy won more combat awards in World War II than any other man in the U.S. Army. Another Texan, Sam Dealey, was the Navy's most decorated man. A Texas-German from Fredericksburg, Charles Nimitz, cmmmanded the U.S. Pacific Fleet. Dwight D. Eisenhower, himself, although raised in Kansas, was Texas-born.

Just as Texans were more ready to go to war, they were quicker to drop its aftermath. Texans neither understood nor approved Hitler's bloody hatred of Jews. They could see no relation between Hitler's drive to exterminate a race and their own color-conscious attempt to subordinate those races they considered inferior. It was an unreal and remote crime to Texans. The Texan attitude was that armed Germans had been dangerous; they needed to be, and had been removed. Any attempt to punish Germany, such as the Nuremberg Trials, received little support in Texas. After all, Texas, too had lost a war.

W. Lee O'Daniel

The fun and fury of Texas politics returned in the governor's race of 1938. The Fergusons were gone but a new hero was on the horizon. On June 10, riding on the roof of a red circus wagon, singing his own songs to the accompaniment of a hillbilly band, the Light Crust Dough Boys, Mr. W. Lee O'Daniel appeared in Waco with the announcement that he was a candidate for the governorship. O'Daniel, a flour merchant who sold by radio, had discovered a substitute for promises to tenant farmers: playing country music over the radio. Being a busy man, he had not, he declared, had time to write a platform and so had borrowed one; from Moses. It was the Ten Commandments, and he was running on it. To the other twelve men running for governor this seemed tremendously funny. But the voters were not laughing, they were listening.

One witness at an O'Daniel rally in Goose Creek, records it this way:

> The meeting was not to start until seven, but I got there at four, and already, three hours ahead of time and hotter than Hades, the crowd was assembling. It was a happy crowd. In the middle of the street two cars wearing "O'Daniel for Governor" stickers and filled with country folks and fruit jars filled with ice water got all tangled up with each other, got pried apart . . . and without one word of

> profanity! It was marvelous; it was those stickers. A man in a blue shirt stuck the nose of his old car, which wore four of them, up against the curb, stepped out, wiped a gallon of sweat off his face, and said, in answer to my question, "Sure I'm goin' to vote for him," and then, from inside the car, from his wife, a cute little thing with rivers of perspiration ruining her complexion faster than she could repair it, came the echo: "You bet he's goin' to vote for him. Everybody is."
>
> "Why?"
>
> "Because he's honest, mister, and because he ain't no politician."
>
> "Perhaps," I said, "but how do you know it?"
>
> "Huh. Know it! Why, we all been knowin' it for years, because for years he's been talkin' to us on the radio. Not about politics, though. Until right lately he never mentioned politics. No, sir, until now he's just been tellin' us things we like to hear . . ."

And so it went. Rich Texans in big cars, poor Texans in little ones, all said they were for O'Daniel and all for the same reason. He was an honest man, he was not a politician, and, when O'Daniel delivered his speech that evening at Goose Creek to more than eighteen thousand people, he admitted both charges. No matter where he spoke, he always made the same speech: one that was very unusual because in it, not even once during his entire campaign, did he mention the name of a single one of his opponents, or discuss politics. He would not do the former because he did not believe in giving the opposition that much free advertising; he could not do the latter because he did not know anything about politics."[14]

The establishment howled that O'Daniel sold politics like flour, but he reached more people than anyone else and on election day, while the other 12 candidates looked on in dismay, W. Lee O'Daniel rolled up more votes than all the other twelve put together.

In office, O'Daniel, like every Texas governor before him, soon found himself wallowing in vetoes and red ink, adding more than $5,000,000 to the state debt. However, in 1940, he won again, largely because he had kept up his homey radio broadcasts.

In 1941, though, when U.S. Senator Morris Sheppard died, Pappy O'Daniel decided he would rather live in Washington than Austin. On the same platform of country music and homespun philosophy, he got himself elected Senator, defeating a serious-minded, but unknown young Representative, Lyndon B. Johnson. Pappy's influence, though, was decreasing, and many said the establishment elected him Senator, just to get him out of Texas.

Coke Stevenson Followed
By Buford Jester

Lieutenant-Governor, Coke Stevenson, a very conservative man, moved up to O'Daniel's office in 1941. In 1946 he turned his office over to an establishment choice for governor, Buford Jester.

A Memorable Election--1946

This election year was important for two reasons. First, the ever-widening split between Texas liberals and conservatives surfaced in a bitter gubernatorial contest between Jester and University of Texas President, Homer Rainey. Secondly, the year saw a senatorial race that later achieved national inportance.

Lyndon Johnson Elected Senator

Former Governor Stevenson opposed Congressman Lyndon Johnson for one of Texas's seats in the U.S. Senate. Both candidates were conservatives, and both had important support from money interests throughout the state. In a hard campaign each man tried to prove he was more conservative than the other. In the end, a South Texas political boss switched his controlled vote from Stevenson to Johnson, who won by a late report from famous "Box 13." The vote was probably fabricated. A Federal Court gave the election to Johnson by about 80 votes.

This may not have been unfair. As in most close Texas races, Johnson men had not tricked Stevenson, just successfully out-tricked him.

Shivers Assumes Office

Jester died in office, and Allan Shivers succeeded him.

Two-Party System in a One-Party State

During the 1950's the division between the Liberal Democrats and the Conservative Democrats deepened. Texas became essentially a two-party state under one-party name. The The liberal wing was composed of organized labor, Blacks, Mexicans, and later, students. The conservative wing, much larger, represented most money and business interests, and most of the middle-class. It resisted change and was anti-strong government. It continued to have more money and be better organized, and, thus, maintained control of Texas.

The Republicans Return

During the years Dwight D. Eisenhower was President, a small Republican Party grew up in the cities. This was the first time Texas had accepted Republicanism since the Civil War. Conservative Democrats learned to support Republicans in national races, but preferred the one-party system at home. Hence, Republicans ran in few local races and won even fewer, but managed to elect John Tower to the U.S. Senate in 1962. They continued to grow as the national Democratic Party became too liberal for Texas tastes.

Generally, in the years following World War II, Texas prospered. The middle-income groups grew richer, but not bigger. After 1944, few moved out of the lower income groups. The Conservative Democrats continued to vote money bills but refused to back them with taxes. In addition, they kept the electorate small by forcing those who wanted to vote in November, to register in January. The electorate, then, grew more conservative as a whole, while the protests of the minority grew louder and more bitter.

John Connally Succeeds Price Daniel

In 1952 and 1954, Allan Shivers, the Conservative Democrat, easily defeated the liberal Ralph Yarborough in the governor's race. Price Daniel, another conservative, defeated

Yarborough for the governorship in 1956. He was replaced by John Connally, a conservative of the Johnson camp in 1962. Connally, like Shivers, was young, handsome, intelligent, and worked for very limited reform. Wounded in Dallas during the assassination of John Kennedy in 1963 he gained national fame and popularity. Although he already had built a broad power base in Texas, this plus his own personal charisma and political pragmatism enabled him to spread his influence to the national level. In 1971, he became Secretary of the Treasury under Nixon and very powerful in directing U.S. economic policy.

Preston Smith

Connally served three terms as governor, and, upon retiring from the Mansion, was replaced by a West Texas conservative Preston Smith. Smith served two terms as governor, but never enjoyed either the power or popularity of his predecessors. Finally, involved in the Sharpstown scandal, he was soundly defeated by a South Texas rancher, Dolph Briscoe. Briscoe ran on a platform promising honest government and was not allied with the Connally-Johnson camp, but was nonetheless a conservative Democrat.

Pragmation Equals Political Success

In general, the successful officeholders from James Hogg on followed an amazingly similar pattern. He had to attract voter attention from various groups with campaign promises and speeches, but at the same time not upset any powerful economic or pressure groups. This caused color, action, and even violence during campaigns, but the fight was decided more often on personalities than on programs. Politics was more a game of seeking office than of pushing programs. No matter who was elected, few real changes came about.

The Texas politicians usually avoided elegance or intellectuality of any kind. He catered to the interests and prejudices of the electorate. He was realistic and could adjust to anything.[16] Lyndon Johnson is a perfect example, but far from the only one.

Lyndon Baines Johnson

Johnson was first elected to Congress from a poor, rocky hill country district in the 1930's. His people wanted everything they could get from the federal government, so Johnson allied himself with President Roosevelt and the New Deal.

However, Roosevelt was too liberal for all of Texas so when Johnson decided to run statewide for Senator, he sold himself as a deeply pragmatic conservative.

In the Senate, Johnson rose with prosperity and stuck with conservatism. He ably represented the anti-Black attitudes of East Texas, and defended the oil and mineral interests. Forceful and energetic, he played cloakroom politics skillfully, and became the most effective Senate Majority Leader in history. The more he gained, the more he could do and did do for the state.

But, leaping to the national stage as Kennedy's Vice-President, Johnson took up the platform of the National Democratic Party and began playing to the national electorate.

Then, upon Kennedy's assassination, in a hurried ceremony at a Dallas airport, Lyndon B. Johnson became the President of the United States. An enormously effective President at first, his style more than his mistakes were responsible for his failure. Johnson did favors for many people, but the Presidential image in the national mind required more. Those traits which made him a good Texas Senator made him a poor president. Personal favors, an utter lack of beliefs, and the clever use of power were excellent Texas politics, but looked dishonest to the nation and to the world. The problem was this: the Texas system built men who could make a correct political decision, but rarely a great moral decision. In Texas politics there were rules, but little morality. A man learned to adjust "right" to the situation at hand.

Throughout the twentieth century, this special brand of politics, Texas-style, changed little. The majority of Texans demanded no change. They continuously elected the man who could promise the most without threatening the existing economic and political powers. No one "spit in the soup." Thus, politics in Texas remained pragmatic, power-seeking and conservative.

Economic Change, Political Lethargy

In contrast to antiquated Texan politics was a continuing, almost explosive economic change. Agriculture was improved, more lands developed, and the mineral resources of Texas discovered and extracted. Instead of clinging to the soil, the tenant farmers began moving to town, where a developing economy could absorb them.

The Texan himself, actually changed little, retaining the old nineteenth century attitudes. Economic reform did not mean social or psychological change. However, a new economic pattern brought about certain, unavoidable alterations in Texas life. All public services improved. Prisons were reformed, old-age pensions started, welfare payments began. In the 1920's and 1930's the "little red schoolhouse" was replaced by the consolidated school district. Public services in Texas were better than those in most of the South, but usually far behind improvements in the East. In almost every case, Texas provided no more than the minimum.

One great exception was roads. Good transportation was a necessity in a state where the population was scattered across vast distances. In some places a farmer had to haul cotton over a hundred miles to the nearest gin or market. The automobile replaced the horse. Texas went from a horse culture to an automobile culture in one swoop. Rural and city Texans, alike, agreed on spending large sums of money on roads. By the 1950's, even the most remote farm to market road was better than roads in the East.

Roads encouraged economic improvement, urbanization, and education. Just as every Texan from the Comanche to the cowboy, to the dirt farmer, owned a horse, every poor, tenant farmer owned a car. The auto was far more important to Texas than it was to the heavily populated East. The auto and the roads it built both united Texas and expanded its horizons.

Twentieth century Texas, like twentieth century America, was mainly concerned with economic development. The only major difference between Texas and the majority of other states is that in Texas, because change started late, it seemed much more impressive. Also, such industrialization that occurred did not change the basic economic pattern in Texas.

The automobile encouraged urbanization but urbanization did not create manufacturing as it had in the East. Heavy industry was not possible in Texas because Texas lacked water, coal and iron. The big development which many Texans confused with industrialization was the discovery and development of Texas's tremendously rich resources of lumber, minerals, aluminum, oil and, as always, land.

Lumbering

Large lumbering corporations rose in the eastern piney woods. As usual, first the Anglo destroyed the resource and then, almost too late, learned to preserve it.

Mechanized Farming

Large, business-like, mechanized farms grew up in West Texas, on the Plains, and in South Texas. The farming of these vast regions was made possible by the invention of heavy farm machinery. In addition, the railroad stretched as far South as Brownsville, and as far West as El Paso opening the birthplace of the cattle empire to development for the first time. With new machinery, large networks of canals were dug, bringing water to areas miles away from the Rio Grande. Soon orchards of citrus fruits, vegetable farms, and cotton empires drove the lean, tough Mexican cattle out of what was now called the Magic Valley.

Texas society changed, too, in the newly developed area. Tenant farmers could not emigrate to the Rio Grande Valley. Land costs were high, large acreages were necessary, and large acreages required machinery. Landowners began to hire farmers from Mexico by the thousands to work the irrigated land. These men and their families were the new Texas pioneers, cultivating, developing, and intorducing the Texas Valley to America. This region was to produce the major part of Texas' cash crops during the twentieth century.

Discovery of Oil

The biggest contribution to Texas's spectacular growth after 1920 was the discovery of some of the largest petroleum reserves on earth. Oil made Texas different from the other Southern states. It provided wealth and employment that the other agrarian states lacked. It caused the unusual form of industrialization which took place in Texas; it was the major factor in the growth of the cities; and it also shaped and added color to Texas society and politics.

The first great field was brought in at Spindletop, between Beaumont and Port Arthur in 1901. Other discoveries followed: Petrolia in 1904, Electra in 1911, the Ranger field in 1917, until finally, oil was found under a majority of Texas counties. By 1928, Texas led all other states in oil production with more than a quarter billion barrels.[16]

Discovery of the East Texas Oil Field

Then in 1930 a truly miraculous event occurred in the quiet, peaceful region around Marshall, Longview and Tyler. This was the land "where barefooted men, who had never worn shoes in their lives and were against paving because it burned their feet in the summertime, drove their razorback hogs over dirt roads to market and sauntered casually back home again when they got ready."[17] This green and shady land, over which Sam Houston and his followers romped, was truly one of the most lovely areas of the state. No one in it hurried, no one was really poor, none was really rich. These were easy-going people who paid little attention to what was going on in Dallas, Houston, or Washington. And, of course, Austin and Dallas and Washington paid no attention to what these people were doing, never had paid any, and were entirely unprepared when something happened in the little town of Kilgore in October 1930, that blew the economic lid almost completely off of everything there was in the country.

It all came about in the calm and lazy way in which people of East Texas had a habit of doing things. For a number of years the old-timers had been saying to one another that there was oil in their country, while the experts from the big oil companies disagreed. Then in 1930, Dad Joiner, who did not trust much in city folk's opinions, said to Deacon Malcolm Crin, "For ten years these fellows have been condemning Joinerville, but I know better. I ain't been a'walkin' over that ground around there for forty years without getting the feel of what's under my feet. It's oil; there's oil in that there dirt and I'll get 'er too."[18]

Dad Joiner did get 'er and so did Brother Crim. Putting down a couple of wells ten miles apart, the old wild catters drove their bits right into a tremendous buried reservoir, 123,000 acres in area, and containing by government calculation, 6,000,000,000 barrels of oil.[19] This was the biggest collection of wealth ever discovered in one spot on this earth. It swamped Texas, it swamped the U.S., it swamped the entire world.

Yet it did not belong to the men who found it. In fact, it did not belong to anybody. Under Texas law, oil is wild. Like a bird or fish, it belongs to whoever captures it. Thus, the immediate result of Dad Joiner's and Brother Crim's discovery was that open season was declared on the liquid gold and everyone went after it.

"When you punch a hole in the ground and oil pops out of it," wrote a Texas editor, "so does Hades. And the more oil, the more Hades."[20] East Texas proved his point. To get at the oil in the huge underground reservoir, derricks went up, drills went down, gushers gushed, oil poured out, money poured in, and Texas went crazy. For example, before the discovery Kilgore was a sleepy little town with three hundred farmers in it. Six weeks later it was a booming carnival with a population of 4,000 divided into two groups--one which had come to get oil and rich out of it, and another which had come to get rich any way possible.

So much oil was pumped out of Kilgore and surrounding areas that Texas finally had to impose strict laws preventing the waste of the valuable resource and protecting the market. Nevertheless, despite restricted production, World War II Texas was producing one-half the nation's gas and oil.

Oil built the base for industrialization in Texas. As the industrial, oil-using society in the North and East grew, so did Texas's wealth. The petrochemical industry, which produced 80 percent of total U.S. output, became the largest industry in the state.

Oil Brings the New

In some ways oil, and oil industries changed Texas. The state was able to put the burden of new taxation on gas and oil. That worthless land in West Texas laid aside to support state education proved to be boundless in oil wealth, and educational funds multiplied. Oil enriched thousands of landowners across the state. By 1955 almost $500,000,000 was paid to farmers, ranchers, and other landowners in rents, royalties, and bonuses.[31] Oil created a new Texas image--that of the rich Texas oilman clad in expensive boots, a diamond stick-pin and a ten-gallon hat. Jokes and stories grew up about the Texas millionaire who drove a cadillac, lit his cigar with $100 bills, and displayed his ignorance all over the world.

Oil Reinforces the Old

But, in other ways, oil did not change Texas at all. The industrialization caused by oil was not what it seemed. Oil was wealth based on land, and thus it fitted easily into the patterns of land-lust, which had built Texas. Oil was just like another crop. It was taken out of the land by machinery requiring little labor, hauled to market, and sold. Only in a few areas, mainly centering aroung Beaumont-Port Arthur-Houston, did oil and oil-related industries, create real industrial growth providing more and better jobs. Thus, oil made those who already owned land richer, did not offer new opportunities for many other Texans, and, finally, strengthened, rather than altered, the status-quo in Texas.

The society of Texas was still based on land, not skills. Those men in power were landowners, not big businessmen. The Anglo had marched from the Alleghenies in search of land. He, like the Indian, had understood well the rule of blood and soil. The land had always shaped his life from beginning to end.

Although the educational system was enriched, it stayed tied to the land. To obtain power in Texas, one had to obtain property. The majority of Texans respected a family with 100,000 acres far more than they respected one with two great doctors, a fine musician, or an outstanding scientist. This value deeply affected Texas education. What a man did outweighted who he was; things were more important than ideas; education was to fit children to society, not to change them. The Texas education system produced great trial lawyers, good soldiers, smart politicians, and excellent ranchers. It did not turn out great thinkers able to invent the formulas for a new space drive, though an intelligent Texan could understand and use the finished product with skill.[22]

Education and ability then, was still modeled by the old Protestant, frontier ethic. Society was as practical, narrow-minded, and self-disciplined as in 1836.

Oil Brings Growth

However, **petroleum** did allow Texas to grow, bringing in new people and new talents. Texas never lost population like many other agricultural states. In 1920, Texas had about 4,000,000 people. By 1970 it passed 12,000,000, achieving Sam Houston's dream at last. But something Sam Houston never dreamed of made it true.

Texas Rich in Minerals

Other natural resources contributed to this growth, too. Sulfur, salt, limestone, oyster shell, gypsum, talc and helim were mined and shipped off to the North. Texas contributed 80 percent of the world's sulfur, and a fourth of the world's mineral supply. It produced 20 percent of the nation's aluminum, and all of its tin. It led all other states, and most nations, in cotton, wool, and mohair exports. Eight million head of cattle dotted Texas's immense plains. Texas was also the shrimp processing capital of the world, with more than 400 boats based at the mouth of the Rio Grande.

Urbanization

While Texas grew steadily, her cities, above all those of Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, Fort Worth, and El Paso, exploded. From Klute, Cotello, Seguin, Crystal City, and Marlin, they poured into the cities. These were old Texans; few city-dwellers came from other countries or non-Anglo-American communities. Large Mexican and Black communities grew up, but these groups formed their own societies. Thus, while the tall, shining buildings and crowded streets of Houston and Dallas looked new and progressive, the outlook of their citizens remained the same.

It had been a century in which Texas developed from a state divided into distant farms, ranches and villages into a cohesive group of communities tied together by a network of highways, radio and television; in which the population more than tripled; in which Texas politicians strongly influenced and even directed national politics; in which a struggling agricultural region was transformed into one of the richest areas on earth. But the dominant ideas in Texas changed little. The majority of Texans were Anglo-American frontier types. These people brought their attitudes and value systems across the Atlantic, over the Alleghanies, onto the broad Texas plains, and finally, into the teeming cities. They were still hard-working, disciplined, entirely property-minded individuals.

Texas began as first a Spanish colony, became a Mexican one, and finally, was an Anglo colony under Mexican rule. Texas continued to function as a colony. It developed to feed another society in order to enjoy the money and products of that society. The rich and propertied prospered and lived alongside the poor, those with neither property nor the opportunities to obtain it. Few new jobs were created, few ideas changed. The Texan took from that other society what he could use: the Kentucky rifle, the cotton gin, the oil derrick. But he resisted alteration. Texans again and again rejected changes and ideas that brought any lasting alteration to Texas society. The Texan society, brawling, vulgar, and materialistic with a shimmer of violence and a cool, calculating view of its own and other worlds, like many other colonial societies remained unchanging in many ways in the twentieth century while it exploded in others.

NOTES

[1] T. R. Fehrenbach, Lone Star (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 633.

[2] Ibid., p. 634.

[3] Owen P. White, Texas, An Informal Biography (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons), p. 214.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 215.

[6] Fehrenbach, op. cit., p. 642.

[7] Ibid., p. 643.

[8] Ibid., p. 644.

[9] White, op. cit., p. 221.

[10] Fehrenbach, op. cit., p. 647.

[11] Ibid., p. 651.

[12] Ibid., p. 652.

[13] Ibid., p. 653.

[14] White, op. cit., pp. 250-251.

[15] Fehrenbach, op. cit., p. 663.

[16] Ibid., p. 667.

[17] White, op. cit., p. 227.

[18] Ibid., p. 228.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Fehrenbach, op. cit., p. 667.

[22] Ibid., p. 673.

CHAPTER XII

CULTURAL CLASH CONTINUES

The endless cultural clash which had alternately shaped and been shaped by the land that is Texas erupted again in the twentieth century. Through Texas history conflict between two different cultures has existed, exploded and subsided time and time again. Indian horsemen fought Spanish conquerors, Spanish rulers faced French trappers and English pirates, Anglo frontiersmen resisted Mexican rule, and American pioneer warred with the disappearing Comanche. Cultural clash has left the lasting scars of violence and bloodshed across the face of the giant state. It is an age-old and seemingly endless problem. When two very different peoples are brought into a single government, either one surrenders its heritage or deep conflicts develop.

During the twentieth century, as all people became more aware of their heritage, as their ethnic conciousness increased enormously, cultural clash became ever more apparent in Texas. The Anglo, who had left much of his heritage behind years before, was unprepared to deal with peoples proud and strongly protective of cultural tradition. He was even less able to understand or deal with cultural clash in Texas, than had been his Spanish and Mexican predecessors. Both in Texas and in the United States, the problems caused by cultural clash have been met with indifference, lack of understanding, and stupidity.

The Black Texan

The first, and most serious, ethnic problem in twentieth century Texas centered around the Black.

Free Men First Populate Texas

The first large group of Black immigrants came to Texas not as slaves, but as free men. When the United States bought Louisiana in 1803, the Spanish declared any slave who escaped across the Sabine into Texas would be automatically free. Escaped slaves poured across the river and settled in East Texas. Many joined friendly Indian tribes. Some moved farther into Texas and lived with the Spanish. Throughout this period the frontier society of Spanish and Mexican Texas generally accepted any individual on his personal merits, without regard to race. Of the more than 500 free Blacks known to have come to Texas during the Mexican period, many did very well and made important contributions to building Texas.

Coming of the Slave

However, in Anglo Texas the Black did not fare so well. First brought to Texas as a slave, he was very different from the immigrants in the Northern United States. The North was a growing, changing, expanding and industrializing society, able to provide enormous opportunities for immigrants. The South was neither growing nor changing. After the Civil War, the slave, left with neither home nor land, had nowhere to go. The economy in the Southern United Sates was ruined. Even the white had to fight to support himself and his family. The millions of Blacks who had worked and built so much of the economy of Texas and the South were lost.

The Black Faces Many Barriers

In Texas the Black faced a combination of problems. He was different, he had been forced into a lower class, and he was offered no road to escape. Politically, the Black was unable to exert any pressure because the Anglo-Texan was unwilling to accept the Black as an equal citizen, and eventually even denied him the vote.

Economically, the Black was caught, too. The Black tenant farmer, who lacked capital and credit, was unable to finance his own farm. The great boom caused by the development of mineral resources passed him by. He owned no land and few new jobs were open to him.

The Black also suffered educationally. Texas had begun a public school system for Blacks in 1870, but in a state where the white rural schools averaged in the bottom third of national ratings, the Black schools were poor indeed.[1]

Even when the Black moved to the cities his situation did not imporve. Educationally, economically, and politically behind the Anglo, the Black found few jobs, was forced into separate settlements, and endured continuing poverty.

Conditions Improve

In the first thrity years of the twentieth century in which 60 percent of the Black population moved into the cities, Texas was torn with racial violence. However, in the 1940's the picture changed sharply from one of the worst situations in the South to one of the best. Texans' biases remained but a growing economy needed law and order, even if it meant quieting Anglo prejudices.

Also, maybe more important, the Black population itself began to decrease. With World War II and the decades that followed, Black emigration out of Texas became a flood. Some went West, most went North, searching for more opportunities and better wages. At the end of the Civil War about one-third of the population of Texas was Black. By 1950, Blacks comprised 12.5 percent, by 1955, 11.6 percent, by 1970, less than 10 percent.[a]

New Black Leaders Emerge

Most important, though, in easing the ethnic problems between the Black and Anglo communities were the Blacks themselves. The Black community left behind after the large emigration out of Texas, was far more able and responsible than most Anglo Texans realized. It was still isolated. Nowhere in Texas did or could whites and Blacks mix, except in political affairs or university communities. Nevertheless, many more Blacks entered the middle class economically and educationally. Houston contained more Black millionaires than any city in the United States. One of these families was descended from a slave who had made shoes for ten cents per pair before the Civil War.[3]

There were also several important Black business organizations in Texas, including an insurance company. Higher education for Blacks was expanded and improved, largely through the efforts of the Blacks themselves.

In addition, this new Black middle class did not turn their backs on their brothers. They continued to live in and improve the Black community.

There were still hatreds, fears, and a thousand reminders of the past for both races. But many enormous changes occurred with great ease. In 1944 the Democratic Party's white primary law ended. Beginning with the 1954 Supreme Court integration decision, segration gradually ceased with relatively little violent protest. The Blacks were moving into the community as a whole, building it and strengthening it. Blacks served on police forces, argued on city councils, and sat in the Legislature. Dr. Zelma Watson George, a Black woman from Hearne, Texas in 1960 was appointed United States Delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Hobart Taylor, Jr., a Black from Texarkana served as special counsel to President Johnson. Senator Barbara Jordan from Houston became the first Black woman in the Texas Senate.

Despite these encouraging changes, Texas has not achieved true integration. The majority of the Anglo community has never believed in social integration and, hence, has felt no responsibility to ease ethnic tensions. Leaders in both the Black and Anglo communities have recognized this and have struggled not to integrate completely, but to build working relationships. They may succeed. The truth, though, is that the majority of Black Texans have emigrated to the North. Texas has not solved the ethnic problems between Blacks and whites; Texas has exported most of them.

The Mexican-American

In the same years that the Black migration out of Texas was taking place, another great ethnic movement was happening. This was also largely unseen. While Texas exported one potential clash, it was importing another one, which was possibly more serious. The twentieth century saw the beginning of a huge Mexican immigration into Texas.

The Second Great Entrada

Most Texans were not aware of the new immigration because there had always been Mexicans in South Texas. But population figures show an amazing pattern. In 1860, there were about 12,000 Mexicans in all Texas. Between 1861 and 1900 about 334 Mexican nationals entered the United States, but as many left as entered. By 1900, 70,000 ethnic Mexicans lived in Texas, less than five percent of the population.[4]

The twentieth century changed this trend. The reason was the development of large-scale, mechanized agriculture in South Texas. Rails, land companies, and irrigation projects invaded the old cattle kingdoms along the Rio Grande. Surveyors in the last, great land rush laid out vast plantations in the brushland where the charro once rode. New cities appeared, too. Better transportation, outside investors, and "acequias" made the valley bloom with fruits and vegetables. The Texas citrus industry began.

Until this time South Texas had centered more around Mexico than around the United States. Matamoros was a rich city; Brownsville was no more than a sleepy little town. More cattle were shipped to Mexico than to northern markets. Mexican money was used more than United States currency.

As late as 1930, sixty percent of the property owners in Starr, Zapata, and Cameron counties were descendents of the original Mexican landowners.[6] Being very proud of their Mexican culture, these landowners encouraged their families to keep the old customs and traditions alive. They furnished their homes, not with furniture bought in Houston or San Antonio, but with luxurious goods purchased in Matamoros and Laredo. They sent their children to border schools and schools in Mexico. Mexicans moving North of the Rio Grande were not Anglocized but Mexicanized. For more than a hundred years these Tejanos lived a life apart from the rest of Texas, following their own special traditions and customs. If they traveled, they went to Mexico. If they attended school, they learned Spanish. They knew very little about what was happening in the U.S. and cared less.

As well as being the home of the Tejano landowner, South Texas was the first area in the U.S. to develop a Mexican-American middle class. Many Mexican workers on the plantations managed to buy lots in town and develop trades. On August 24, 1927, these middle class Mexican-Americans formed the League of Latin-American Citizens at a meeting in Harlingen. The formation of the "Lulacs," as they are called, was the first attempt on the part of Mexican-Americans to organize themselves in order to set forth their needs and desires as citizens of the United States.[6]

However, with the new land development the entire make-up of South Texas changed. It brought South Texas back into the United States. Tons of vegetables, fresh and canned, were shipped North by rail; towns and cities swelled; Anglo developers poured in.

The development was based totally on Mexican labor. In fact, none of it could have taken place without a great mass of workers from Mexico. To use these borderlands much irrigation was required. This took enormous investments of money. In addition, the crops had to be shipped long distances to reach northern markets. The crushing costs of land, irrigation, and shipping could not be paid if labor costs were high too. Mexican farmers worked for lower wages. Without

Mexican workers the Rio Grande Valley could never have been developed.

Thousands of Mexicans were recruited to work on the new, mechanized farms. Others, hearing of the new frontier, traveled North on their own. Even though the wages were low, they offered a man better opportunities for himself and his family. These men were not like the vaqueros who had built the cattle kingdom. They came from the states of Michoacán, Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Nuevo León, where the Spanish had first built the high haciendas.[7] They left the Mexican regions where land holdings were large and conditions poor. These Mexicans entered a new country where most of the land was owned by the Anglo. They met with terrible hardships. Often labor smugglers or "coyotes" charged ten to fifteen dollars a head to bring workers across the border and then turned them over to labor contractors, or "enganchistas" who, in turn, crowded the labor crews onto trucks and boxcars, charged them for transportation, and sold them to employers. Some enganchistas, to prevent another agent from stealing their crews, would keep the men locked up at night in barns, corrals, and warehouses under armed guard. Crews of imported

Mexicans were marched through the streets of San Antonio at gunpoint in broad daylight and, in Gonzales County, workers who attempted to break their contracts were chained to posts and guarded by men with shotguns.[8] Nevertheless, the workers kept coming. They took jobs at 50 cents per day, and, in some cases, were earning more money than they had ever seen in their lives. These new workers were strong, polite, friendly and experienced with the soil. They came, not alone, but with their families, determined to build a new life, in spite of overwhelming trials and inequities.

They poured in, increasing the Mexican population of Texas between 1900 and 1910 by 76 percent. The Mexican Revolution of 1910 destroyed the old hacienda system, and brought reform and modernization to Mexico. But as in the United States, industrialization affected the farmers last. Thus, immigration into Texas continued. In ten years, between 1910 and 1920, 264,503 arrived, and 165,044 in the next decade.[9]

At this time, the immigration was not controlled. Washington was seemingly unaware of the tremendous number of immigrants until the 1960's. By this time migration was occurring at some 50,000 per year. Washington placed the first quotas ever placed on immigration from the Western Hemisphere. The U.S. limited Mexican immigration to 100,000 per year. But by 1950, there were already 1,500,000 Mexicans in Texas, making up 17 percent of the population. Steady immigration pushed the figure to 20 percent by the 1960's, and all predictions promised an increase. One in five of all Texans was Spanish-speaking.[10] This was hardly mere immigration; it was colonization.

Renewed Border Wars

Meanwhile, the Mexican Revolution plus heavy immigration had caused increased problems between Mexico and Texas.

Relations between Texas and Mexico had always depended upon whether order or chaos ruled along the Rio Grande. From 1900 to 1925, the whole border was aflame, as revolution tore across Mexico. Raiders crossed and recrossed the border in search of beef for one army and then another. The best-known of these was the famous warrior, Francisco Villa. He spread such terror along the Rio Grande that General Pershing pursued him across the border with an entire company of U.S. soldiers in the most fruitless search since Coronado set out after the seven cities of gold. All of this confusion contributed to the worsening of race relations on both sides of the border.

This region had always been violent. But when the Mexican revolution turned bloody, the border saw more Texas and U.S. troops and fighting than had been seen since the Civil War. Some very gory battles were fought along the Mexican side from Piedras Negras to Matamoros. Thousands of refugees crossed the border, and soon raiding parties, under the command of no one, rode looting and killing across the Rio Grande.

This caused a violent reaction against all Mexicans in the Valley. President Wilson sent large numbers of National Guardsmen to the Rio Grande, and Governor Ferguson recruited and sent a thousand Rangers to the troubled area.[11]

At this time, the U.S. was fighting World War I and had begun to suspect the loyalty of all non-citizens. Texans extended this distrust to the Mexicans living in South Texas. Then in 1917, a deputy-sheriff found a copy of the famous Plan of San Diego on a Mexican-American captured in Brownsville. Under the Plan of San Diego, Mexicans were to rise in Texas, proclaim their freedom, shoot all gringo males over sixteen, and take Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado. It is almost certain that no Mexican authored the Plan. The Spanish was poor and many phrases were wrong. Most intelligent authorities believed the Plan to be written by a German agent trying to stir up trouble or by one of the many wealthy U.S. landowners who were being forced to leave Mexico at the time. But, publicity of the Plan was enough. Anglo-Texans were ready for race war.

The Fall of The Texas Rangers

This is an ugly part of Texas History. Texans would like to forget it as much as they would like to forget the Mexican-American War. Rangers and local posses, in return for crimes against American lives and property, committed other crimes. The Rangers traditionally "shot first and investigated later." This action, in spite of violent times, was uncalled for. The United States, with 35,000 troops on the border in 1917, was in no danger.

The Rangers, as a state police force, were out of date. Ninteenth century Texas, made up of lonely settlements plagued by Indian attacks, had needed a force of tough, hard-riding, fast-shooting, undisciplined men. Twentieth century Texas faced new problems. Those Rangers who still solved law enforcement problems by asking the other man to draw if he dared, were part of a frontier that had long before disappeared.

Between 1915 and 1917, many Rangers copied the old tough-man tradition, in changed conditions. Instead of really protecting citizens, they waged persecutions. They, of course, were not the only guilty parties. Local citizens, sheriffs, and even the army, shared the guilt. There were many cases of beatings, torture, and legalized murder.[13] Often, as in Breckenridge, all Mexican-Americans, some of whom had lived in Texas for years, would be warned to leave overnight.[14] R. B. Creager of Brownsville testified that 200 Mexicans had been executed without trial by Rangers, local officers, and citizens. He estimated that 90 percent of these had committed no crime.[15] At this time every Anglo in the Valley went armed with six-shooter or rifle, but if a Mexican was found armed, he was accused of banditry and shot. No record exists of these executions which were estimated to number between 200 and 5,000 because, obviously, no records were kept.

There are stories of finding many bodies and the burial of these. A good estimate suggests about 300 Mexicans were killed in executions. Most of these were Texas Mexicans.[16]

In 1919, J. T. Canales, State Representative from Brownsville, filed formal charges against the Rangers for mistreatment of Tejanos. An investigation followed and the Rangers were badly disgraced. A bill passed the Legislature that abolished the Rangers as the main state police force and reduced their numbers to 76 men. A few years later the Ranger duties were given to the State Highway Patrol. The Rangers survived, but as a small force of 60 men who acted mainly as an investigative force.

Unknown to most Anglo-Texans, who took pride in their historical Texas Rangers, the force had become a symbol of terror in Mexican-American minds. Children trembled at the mention of "El Rinche." Almost every Mexican-American alive at that time carried a violent fear of the mounted patrolman. Later, even third- and fourth-generation Mexican-Americans, who had never seen a Ranger, would react with anger at the mention of that figure who had become worse than the boogeyman.

International Problems Result

The numerous crimes committed against Texas Mexicans also caused important international results. For example, Carranza at first refused to allow Mexico to join the League of Nations because he felt it did not stand for racial equality. All over Latin America journalists described the Anglo as "hard, haughty, and utilitarian, infatuated with his success, and his muscular strength . . . ,"[17] and newspapers in Mexico City complained that while U.S. citizens were protected in Mexico, Mexicans were murdered in the U.S.

Relations Improve

The triumph of the Mexican Revolution ended the bloody fighting along the border, and as Mexico began to modernize, relations between the two countries improved. Most important, of course, to the change in Texan's attitude were the thousands of rich Mexican shoppers who poured across the border in search of inexpensive manufactured goods. By the 1960's in some Texas cities the Mexican trade during the Holy Week vacation was as important as the local trade at Christmas. The average Mexican tourist spent more than $1,000 per visit, while the average American spent no more than $400 in Mexico.[18] Relations between the U.S., Texas and Mexico entered their friendless era with little threat of change to the happy, stable, relationship.

Internal Clash Continues

But as historic, national hatreds eased, the emerging ethnic problem in South Texas far from disappeared.

Until 1920, the Mexican-American population was rural and largely remained in South Texas. Then, like other Texas farmers, the Mexican began to move to the local towns and then to the cities. He continued to move North until he made San Antonio the capital of that part of Mexico that lay within Texas. The Mexican-Americans, in large numbers, began becoming genuine citizens of the United States. From 1920 onward the basic loyalty and patriotism of Mexican-Americans was to their new state and their new country. As an ethnic group they were overwhelmingly law-abiding and hard-working.

World War II,
The Road to Change

During World War II Mexican Texans came to their country's aid with even greater enthusiasm than did Anglo Texans. The exact number of Mexicans who served in the armed forces is not known, but estimates run from 350,000 to 500,000.[19] It is known that the proportion of Mexican-Americans in the armed forces exceeded the proportion of Mexican-Americans in the U.S. Throughout the war long lists of Mexican-American casualties appeared in Texas, along with stories of bravery. Chicanos won a high number of the Medals of Honor granted to citizens of the state.

Ricardo Noyola is typical of many Mexican-Texan soldiers. Born on the rancho Los Potreros in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, Ricardo could not speak English when he joined the army. There were 55 or 60 boys like him at Camp Robinson. The post commander, not knowing what to do with them, finally put them in a special platoon under an officer who spoke Spanish. Within thirteen weeks, the members of the unit were not only good soldiers, but had mastered enough English to serve in any platoon. Several of these soldiers, including Noyola, won special medals for bravery.[20]

For such men, wartime provided opportunities to learn new skills, to gain new experiences, and to hear new ideas. For many it was the first opportunity to participate in American society. Out of this wartime experience came a new pride in citizenship and a growing resentment of all discrimination.

Barriers Began to Ease, But Not Fall

However, the color-conscious Anglos tended to equate the Mexican with the Black. Mexicans were segregated officially in almost all South Texas public schools, in separate classses from Anglo students. Mexicans were also residentially segregated. The new towns in the Rio Grande Valley were laid out with separate Mexican quarters. The same discrimination applied to the Black was applied to the Mexican, making him another, separate depressed class.

The Texas Mexican who had grown up before 1949, on the average had just three years schooling.[21] His opportunities to rise above farm worker were rare. There were so many of him, and he was so new to a strange society, that it was almost impossible to improve his people's lot. Unionism was not practical among a people that moved from farm to farm, and wages remained low in an area where new immigrants, willing to work for little pay, continued to pour in.

Following World War II, many Texans, recognizing the Mexican contribution to Texas, worked to erase the inequities existing in Texas society. Texas destroyed Mexican segregation.

At the same time many social barriers eased, although they did not disappear.

There did grow, slowly, a responsible Mexican middle class in Texas. But this was in spite of, not because of, Texas society. The majority of Mexicans still faced color, educational, political, and economic barriers. By 1965 the Mexican-Texan had fallen far behind the Black in schooling. While the average Texan Black had received almost twelve years of schooling, the Mexican still had only seven years or less.[33] The problem was language. Many Mexicans started school unable to speak English and immediately fell behind. Eventually, they grew discouraged and quit. This lead, naturally, to economic problems. Texas Mexicans had a higher percentage of unemployment than the rest of society and a lower average income.

Hence, although he lived in a land first settled by his forefathers, the Mexican-American was unable to compete in a society that stayed foreign to him. He became a unique figure in the United States; a native-born citizen who was a foreigner in his own land.

New Mexican-American Leadership

Beginning in the 1950's the growing Mexican middle class reacted strongly to this dilemma. Rather than entering Anglo society, this group provided services for its own people as storekeepers, lawyers, doctors, and more and more, politicians. It encouraged political interest among the Mexican community. In the 1930's, very few Mexicans held political office, even in areas where they were in the majority. By the 1950's this changed, as new lawyers, doctors and businessmen began to offer leadership to their own race. Eligio de la Garza and Henry B. Gonzalez were elected to the United States Congress; Raymond L. Telles first became mayor of El Paso, and then U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica; Reynaldo Garza was appointed Federal District Judge; and Dr. Hector García was made a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations.

Rise of the Chicano

The 1960's saw the rise of a vital, interested, active, new generation no longer willing to wait for equality. This was the real beginning of the Chicano movement. Chicanos, lead by a fiery, young leader, Jose Angel Gutierrez, made themselves heard through Mayo, the Mexican-American Youth Organization, and La Raza Unida. La Raza Unida, beginning in Crystal City as a local, pressure group had helped elect Mexican-American candidates in several local elections by 1970, and by 1972, had expanded to become a state-wide Chicano Party.

This new generation of Mexican-Texans, whose fathers had done so much to mold the sprawling plains into a prosperous, growing state, were an old and a new element in Texas. While Mexicans had been in Texas for centuries, they had never claimed it as their home. Even the early missionaries had considered Mexico the homeland and Texas, a colony or province.. Now, more and more, Mexicans were demanding that Texas be their state, too, politically, economically, and educationally.

They were not more Anglocized, although more and more did speak English. They felt dsicrimination more strongly. They were better-educated and held Mexican values closer because they understood them. They spoke Spanish at home by choice. Above all else, the majority of this group, wanted to improve the standard of raza. It wanted equality, not Americanization. It wanted a kind of fusion where both Mexican and Anglo values would be equally respected.

What the Chicanos wanted was difficult to achieve, because the two value systems do not fuse easily. Elena Landazuri, trying to explain to Anglos why Mexican-Americans were different said, "We have a different mental reaction to the world. Other peoples, perhaps, desire the means to live, money to build, to do good, to spend. . . . Our treasure is time. We must think, we must chat, we must see, we must enjoy ourselves, we must be."[23]

No Mexican-American held work to be the first virtue, or wealth to be the major goal of life. These traits in the Anglo made him seem cold and inhuman. On the other hand, the Mexican belief that to be was as important as to do, looked like laziness to the Anglo.

The Mexican, then, found it hard to compete in the Anglo way of life. The only way he could do so would be to give up his heritage. The Anglo could not understand why he refused to do this. He could not see that the Mexican had come to live and work and improve his lot, not to become an Anglo. Perhaps the Anglo had forgotten that he, too, had come in 1836 for better opportunity, not to become a Mexican. Few Anglo immigrants in the old days even bothered to learn

Spanish. The Mexican immigrant also preferred his native customs.

In the 1960's, when more than half of the 750,000 people in San Antonio were Spanish-speaking, the outlines of a new Texas within the old were beginning to appear. Few Texans really saw this, because Texans were always slow to accept change. There was a reluctant feeling that the Mexican needed a better break. Experiments in bilingual education were begun; more Mexicans were appointed to boards and offices. Many Anglo businessmen even began to recognize that the unusual mixture of cultures in San Antonio held grand opportunities for profit. Tacos, huaraches, and "Old Spanish culture," could be endlessly sold, especially to a Northern mass who had lost touch with their own culture. Thus, as an Anglo society once established itself in a Mexican state, a Mexican socity was now establishing itself in an Anglo state.

The Mexican could make a new society in South Texas, but it was not as likely that he could remake the sprawling, sleeping society in which both he and the Anglo-Texan lived. He loved the land and believed that he had always been there; that the land had always answered to the Spanish tongue; and that this land was his. This was true, but only partially. Texas had also belonged to the foot-bound Coahuiltecan and to the mounted Comanche, to the proud Conquistador and the gentle priest, to the Anglo-Celt frontiersman, and to laboring Blacks. Its plains had nourished and destroyed the planter, the cattle baron, and the farmer. This history of many cultures perhaps was a new hope. At worst, the formation of a strong Anglo and Mexican society could produce new trouble; it was not likely to create worse trouble, or more injustice than there had already been. At best, it could build a society that truly represented its diverse peoples. This much was certain. Texas was not complete, nor was the great game of cultural clash upon the grassy plains done.

NOTES

[1] T. R. Fehrenbach, *Lone Star* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 681.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 683.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 685.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 687.

[5] Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 85.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[7] Fehrenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 688.

[8] McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[9] Fehrenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 689.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 690.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 691.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 692.

[14] McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[15] Fehrenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 692.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[18] Fehrenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 694.

[19] McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

[21] Fehrenbach, *op. cit.*. p. 698.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 699.

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